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THE KENT SHAFFER MEMORIAL LECTURES
IN YALE UNIVERSITY
1930

JESUS THE SON OF GOD

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JESUS THE SON OF GOD

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AND EXEGESIS IN YALE UNIVERSITY

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The first series of Shaffer Lectures was delivered by Dr. Benjamin Wisner Bacon, Professor Emeritus of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Yale University, on February 18, 20, 25, and 27, 1930.

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PREFACE

In his *New Testament Problems* (1929) Dr. W. K. Lowther-Clarke reviews some of the outstanding works of the *Formgeschichtlich* school of Gospel criticism, inferring from them (p. 24) that "The very best lives (of Christ) are now obsolete." Since my own *Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1909) has been declared to anticipate the method of this school the reader will not be surprised to discover a mode of approach to the problem which lays greater emphasis than formerly upon the nature and history of the record, refusing to attempt the portrait until all possible care has been taken to bridge the chasm between apostolic eye- and ear-witness and the post-apostolic documents in which after a generation of missionary preaching and catechetic instruction the oral material was finally assembled. Lecture I will perhaps indicate sufficiently in what sense the sketch here presented may claim some measure of novelty in a field where it is difficult to bring forward material both new and true.

But it should be no less apparent from the same introductory Lecture that no more than a preliminary sketch is attempted. In broad outline I may perhaps hope to have defined the three-fold nature of the witness to which the biographer must resort. The chapter of Critical Notes should serve as a reminder how very much remains to be added (some also no doubt to be removed and some corrected) by abler and better informed minds, before that more adequate Life of Christ is achieved which forms the task of the opening years of the twentieth century since Calvary.

The first series of Kent Shaffer Lectures at Yale is given to the public just as delivered, without adaptation to book form beyond the appending of a few concise Notes in a supplementary chapter. The author's hope is that it may contribute a modest part toward the renewal of Christian faith, a faith more firmly and deeply rooted in reality than before, but in which "dwells more of reverence" too.

B. W. B.

New Haven, May 13, 1930.

Lecture I

THE LIFE OF CHRIST

WHY WE STUDY IT, AND HOW

THE LIFE OF CHRIST

WHY WE STUDY IT, AND HOW

Never in the history of the world has there been so conspicuous need as today of competent religious leadership. The generation, churched and unchurched, to which you, young men, will address yourselves, needs to be told above all things else, and beyond any generation that has gone before, What to do with their Lives. They need to be shown it convincingly, not by parroted tradition, not by conventions against which they are already in revolt, but out of verifiable living experience.

The present generation looks back with horror on one whose lives were sacrificed, many of the best and noblest of them, and seemingly in vain; for the ideals then proclaimed appear now as remote as before. To us with failing hands they threw the torch of humanity's hopes, bidding us bear it high. Greed for the spoils of dear-bought victory has been the most conspicuous public response. The agony of the nations was made the grafter's opportunity. By an overwhelming majority the American people placed in power an administration whose motto was a denial that we had fought for any ideals. Several of its representatives lived up to the motto. For them at least "normalcy" meant normal, or even abnormal, greed. Post-war disillusionment was as world-wide as the war itself. What wonder that individual conduct was keyed to a lower pitch? Ideals are the sole commodity we representatives of religion have to offer. You are probably aware that to "sell" ideals (as the business jargon has it) to a disillusioned generation calls for high-pressure salesmanship of no common order.

What to do with the lives so narrowly saved, and at such frightful cost—that is the problem consciously or unconsciously before the post-war generation. It is of no use to call the generation perverse, adulterous and faithless. It may be so, but telling it so will be of small avail. Your part will be to give it ideals to which to commit its life now too often wildly wasted; and your supreme resource, your gospel for an age of disillusionment, must be the life that was sacrificed on Calvary nineteen hundred years ago this coming Good Friday. Your message is "the word of the cross," the assurance that lives are saved by losing them, that they are not given us to squander but to invest, and that the investment that yields "a hundred-fold now in this present time and in the world to come life everlasting" is the investment on faith in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Exercise your salesmanship on that.

I

The times are not all against you. Time was when the reading public was interested in fiction almost to the exclusion of more serious literature. Nowadays biography is rapidly overtaking it and even a history of philosophy has become a best-seller. Fiction itself has gone beyond mere romance and prides itself on being objectively and psychologically realistic. It must be "true to life" or the public despises it. That was a wise choice made a dozen years ago by a former colleague of mine on the Yale Divinity Faculty who, on being called to fill a new chair elsewhere, elected "Biography" as his subject. What else indeed should be the "proper study of mankind"? What have we that is of more vital interest to every man and woman facing the now wide-open doors of opportunity than wisdom in the investment of life?

And in the field of religion the age is really on your side. There is indeed an "Anti-religious front," not too deep for sound and foam. There is a materialism that belies all the greatest discoveries of modern physics, and a "behaviorism" that would reverse the course of the evolution of ethics, restoring in the field of morals an Egyptian worship of the dog and the rat. But real religion and real morality are not tending in these directions. Take heart. A few years ago the Dean of the School of Journalism in Columbia University addressing a convention of journalists said to them: "My colleagues and friends, how is it that for one question that used to be addressed to editors ten years ago on the subject of religion we have twenty now?" True, there is a give and take in this game of twenty questions in religion. A large part of them are due to the fact that "old things have passed away." It will be your part as champions of a living, growing faith to prove that "all things are become new." Christianity itself was "a removing of the things that could be shaken, that those things which could not be shaken might remain." * Those are the words of a great idealist.

And not only is there this renewed interest in the vital things of Christianity. There is also a prodi-

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* Hebrews 12:27.

gious, an amazing growth of interest in the life of its Founder. Our generation not only hungers and thirsts for an interpretation of life which will restore the meaning it now seems to have lost but specifically it demands of the representatives of Christianity that it interpret the Life of Christ. One of the greatest, most brilliant, most versatile, most heroic of modern scholars, Albrecht Schweitzer, published twenty-four years ago his critical study of the history of modern attempts to write the story of Jesus' career. The English title is *The Quest of the Historical Jesus.* In Germany, where there is greater familiarity with the subject, it was called *From Reimarus to Wrede.* Reimarus was the so-called Wolffenbüttler fragmentist, the radical rationalist whose work was published by Lessing in 1778. Wrede was a recent critic, whose book, *The Secret of the Messiahship,* appeared in 1901. The stream of attempts to tell the story that never grows old had almost ceased to flow after the formation of the four-gospel canon in the latter half of the second century. It revived with the eighteenth-century awakening of interest in historical criticism, and from that time it has gone on in rapidly increasing volume to the present day. Last Christmas I clipped from the Sunday

New York Times the review of a French work of this kind entitled *Who is Then This Man?* by Mélanie Marnas. The reviewer begins with an allusion to the closing words of the fourth Gospel where the evangelist declares his belief that if all the things that Jesus did should be written "the world itself would not contain the books that should be written." This prediction, says the reviewer, is in a fair way to meet fulfilment. "For the Lives of Christ published in a single season," he continues, "Charles W. Eliot would have had to provide not a five-foot shelf but a shelf of fifty feet, and of the volumes that crowd the presses we have to limit our attention to a mere handful of typical examples." That does not look as if interest in our subject were diminishing.

It is neither diminishing nor likely to diminish. The benefactor to whom we owe the Shaffer Foundation has sufficiently indicated his confidence in this continued interest. The stream of Lives of Christ was already prodigious. He has ensured the annual addition to it of a whole series of affluents from various quarters. Not production but assimilation is now the problem. It can be solved only as quantity is made subservient to quality. There seems to be no end to the public demand. I have intimated certain reasons why in my judgment it may be expected to continue, perhaps even increase. The subject is immeasurably worth while. Vaguely, gropingly, a public half-awakened to the application of historical criticism to the Gospels is hungering for a retelling of the old, old story; to know why Jesus is called the Living Word, why the simple record of his brief career in Galilee and Jerusalem, his martyr fate, endured for his message of the Kingdom, and the movement that sprang from it, have become for hundreds of millions a heaven-sent solution of the Quest of the Ages. People have begun to think that perhaps a man's life does not consist in the abundance of the things he possesses.

The Way for feet that stumble, the Truth for minds perplexed, the Life for hearts that fail and break, that is the Quest of the Ages; and the new generation looks for guidance in it to the Christian minister. The pity is the hungry are so often fed with chaff. Theatrical impression, even from Oberammergau, does not last. A Papini may experience and exploit it. His book sells by the hundred thousand. Real scholars like Bousset, Otto and Case, Bosworth and Bultmann, devout and thoughtful preachers like Bowie and Lowry, theologians and ecclesiastics like Baillie and Gore, get a scant and casual hearing. But sentiment without the solid basis of fact is ineffectual. Manifestly there is more need for sifting what we have than for adding to the mass. But how shall this sifting come about? Partly, no doubt, by the personal influence and example of an enlightened ministry. But chiefly by the only method that has ever availed: the better must slowly prove its superiority, displacing the chaff. The public is not inclined to let others choose for it the books it will read. The Life of Christ that is to satisfy must be brief and to the point. It must rest on a rock foundation of critical history, understanding both the times and the man. It must show an appreciation of values both historical and religious, and if it attempts a psychological approach it will aim to understand the psychology of those who transmit the record before attempting to read the character of him whom it depicts. And this record was not made with the object of biography but of religious edification.

No single course of lectures can dream of producing such a work. At most it may furnish some abiding contribution to the end in view. The ultimate can come only by the slow method of trial and error. For him who has the responsibility of inaugurating the series it is quite enough to outline some general plan, not as a restriction upon later collaborators but by way of suggestion. I have therefore laid out such thoughts as I have to convey under four heads, devoting the time at my disposal today to certain preliminary questions, such as: "Why we study the Life of Christ, and How?", then, in the three lectures which are to follow, seeking to appreciate in their true significance the three forms of the evangelic record which survive. For historical criticism has established to the satisfaction of competent scholars that there are but three main lines of the tradition of Jesus' life and teaching which have come down to us from the post-apostolic age, each adapted to a particular need of the Church. The earliest of these consists of the collected missionary talks of Peter arranged to supply an outline of Jesus' public activity during the single year, more or less, of his messianic career.[1] Whether nearer or more remote in the degree to which it reproduces the simple witness of the fisherman-apostle, the Gospel according to Mark, as it soon came to be called, is certainly fundamental to all the rest, supply-ing to Mt. and Lk.* that basic outline of historical fact without which their supplements of teaching material would lack unity and coherence. Using the poetic phrase adapted by Paul to the message proclaimed by prophets among primitive believers we may call this story of Peter as recorded under the name of Mark "What the Eye Saw"; for it is indeed the visual impression which is chiefly reflected in this early Gospel to the neglect (often to a surprising extent) of what was addressed as teaching to the ear. Mk. gives us beyond all other records the testimony of the eye-witness, in last resort of Peter himself. We must appraise this testimony in our second lecture under the title "What the Eye Saw."

Our third lecture must deal with an element of the tradition no longer extant in its original form, a record of the teaching of Jesus taken up in combination with Mk. by two later evangelists independently. Modern criticism, which in so many cases has restored lost sources from the text of later incorporating documents, is solely responsible for the discovery of this "Second Source" of Mt. and Lk. often designated Q. To it we owe the greater part of what circulated in the primitive Church as the teaching of Jesus; though it cannot have circulated under any apostolic name or authority, else our Mt. and Lk. would not have ignored its claims or treated it as of less authority than Mk. The Q material, that is, the elements of Mt. and Lk. which they draw in common from some unknown older document but are not derived from Mk., stands, I repeat, for a Second Source. Q is not itself a source, but only the "double-tradition" material of Mt. and Lk. But this material at least is certainly drawn from some earlier document, a document probably even earlier than Mk., for there are indications that Mk. also knew it; a document probably written originally in Aramaic but known to Mt. and Lk. in Greek translation, for their extracts coincide more nearly in wording than the material taken from Mk. This material was used in the primitive Church to inculcate the religious and moral teachings of Jesus; for the larger part of it is drawn up in the form of moral and religious discourses; yet the Teaching Source was not the work of an apostle for the reasons stated. Moreover the work of an apostle would not have been allowed to disappear if extant in the time of Mt. and Lk. The Second Synoptic Source, from which Mt. and Lk. derive those infinitely precious teachings of Jesus independently combined by them with Mk.'s record of the Witness of Peter can be best conceived as the work of a teacher to conserve discourses of the ideal Teacher. Its witness is chiefly "What the Ear Heard." To the teaching of Jesus as thus authenticated we shall devote our third Lecture, comparing this record with that of Mk. and Paul.

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* The abbreviated forms Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn. are used to designate the four canonical Gospels and their traditional authors without prejudice to questions of authenticity. When reference is made to the individuals Mark and Luke and the Apostles Matthew and John the names are spelled in full.

Finally we shall treat that most difficult and disputed factor of all, the witness of the latest Gospel, that which early tradition ascribes to the Apostle John. The fourth Gospel is reputed to come from Ephesus, headquarters of Paul's mission-field. It certainly reflects the same distinctive message as Paul, and is strikingly independent of the three earlier Gospels, which from their common viewpoint are called Synoptic. This Gospel pursues an aim as different from the Synoptic as can be conceived within the limits of a common apostolic Christianity. For the fourth Gospel aims not so much to recall as to interpret. Its author aims not so much to tell what Jesus *did* say as what he *would have said* had he lived to oppose the falsehoods of the Church's foes at the end of the first century, Judaism on the one side, Greek and Gnostic syncretism on the other. Interpreted in the light of its known history and antecedents (as we are in duty bound to interpret it) the fourth Gospel supplies comparatively little of contemporary witness from eye and ear. It tells not so much what eye saw or what ear heard of the work and word of Jesus, but rather what entered into the heart of man to conceive of the whole divine epiphany, the life seen throughout in the light of transfiguration. Jn. was called in antiquity the "spiritual" Gospel, in modern times it has been called the "heart of Christ," because its author's aim is to interpret the significance of the "life which was the light of men." In the evangelist's own words his aim was that his readers might "believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that believing they might have life in his name." *

II

Without the fourth Gospel it would be impossible to answer adequately the question Why we devote such constant and intense study to the life of Jesus of Nazareth. The answer is partly historical. The

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* Jn. 20:31.

Pauline Epistles and the fourth Gospel reveal to us an appreciation of this life as "the light of men," a "coming into the world" of that eternal light that lighteth every man. This appreciation formed the essential gospel of the Hellenistic Church, the mother church of Christianity as we know it. The universal values of the life of Christ as given to it by Paul and Jn.

Let me explain what I mean by the Hellenistic Church. The Book of Acts tells us of two dispersions from Jerusalem. In the year 42 there was a scattering of the Church occasioned by the persecution of Herod Agrippa and the martyrdom of James. At this time the Twelve had huddled with the first believers for twelve years in Jerusalem around the group of "kindred of the Lord" *(desposyni)*, waiting for the return of their Messiah to sit upon the throne of David. Their vain hope for the conversion of Israel exhausted, they were driven at last to a belated and relatively unsuccessful mission to the Gentile world. But a full decade before this there had occurred a more fruitful martyrdom, a more momentous dispersion, a more splendid mission to the Gentiles. Of this first dispersion Acts says little because its author's eyes are dazzled with the fame of the Twelve with Peter at their head. In reality it was the Greek-speaking branch of the Church under the lead of Stephen which first incurred a persecution harmless to the Twelve. The believing Hellenists incurred this persecution just because of their broader interpretation of the gospel. They were untrammeled by Jewish concentration on Temple and Law, in fact words spoken against Temple and Law were made the charge against Stephen. These, then, the men who were "scattered abroad in the persecution that arose about Stephen," Philip the evangelist at their head, went north and south and east and west proclaiming a gospel that knew no distinction of race, but preached Christ as a world-redeemer. These were the true founders of Christian missions.

For fourteen years, whether as persecutor or missionary, Paul's contacts were all with the Hellenists. It is their universal gospel which he preaches, laboring more abundantly than all the Twelve, and it is this Hellenistic gospel represented by Paul and Jn. which became at Antioch, in alliance through Barnabas with the older Jerusalem group, the basis of Christianity as a world religion. That is the historical reason why the attention of the whole world today is concentrated on the Life of Christ. Historically Christianity is unaccountable without the witness of Paul and Jn. Very simply and directly is that witness stated by the last and greatest of our evangelists: "The witness is this, that God gave unto us eternal life, and this life is in His Son." *

There is also a religious, or if you will philosophical, reason why the Hellenistic conception can not be ignored in meeting the question Why men must and will concentrate their attention on this life of lives. The distinctive factor in the Hellenistic gospel of Jn. and Paul is that it conceives the story of Jesus as an incarnation, whereas Synoptic tradition conceives it as an apotheosis.

Acts truly reflects the Christology of Peter and the Twelve in Peter's sermon at Jerusalem: "Repent ye, that your sins may be blotted out and that God may send the Christ who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus: whom the heaven must receive until the times of restoration foretold by the prophets." † It is quite true that neither Peter nor any other Jew could think of this assumption of Jesus to heaven as the Græco-Roman world conceived the apotheosis

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* I John 5: 11.

† Acts 3: 19 f.

of kings and emperors. When Jews spoke of the "taking up" of Enoch and Elijah and Moses to be in Paradise with God until the times of the Restoration of all things they did not think of these glorified men as "gods." In that respect Professor Lake is quite right in saying that the term "apotheosis" is inapplicable. But the Jews of Jesus' time certainly did believe in the "taking up" into conditions of "glorification" in Paradise of Enoch and Elijah and Moses. They did not think of these glorified ones as "gods," but they did believe in a reception into "heaven" immediately after death of those who like Jeremiah and Onias had suffered martyrdom for the cause of God. Many Jews not followers of Jesus believed this of John the Baptist, and among the followers of Jesus who rallied to the standard of Peter and the Twelve every one believed it of their risen Lord. Incarnation of a divine being is a conception foreign to contemporary Jewish thought. It has absolutely no place in the entire Synoptic literature; for of course neither divine foreknowledge and predestination, as implied in the Baptismal Voice from heaven in Mk., nor miraculous birth, as related in Mt. and Lk., contains the slightest intimation of conscious pre-natal existence. For this conception we must go to Paul and Jn. The idea that the Christ was sent forth from God *before* his earthly career belongs to the Hellenistic gospel; it is both distinctive of it and fundamental to it.*

What, then, was the common ground? The confession common to both branches of the Church was that "Jesus is Lord," our invisible heavenly King soon visibly to come again and inaugurate the kingdom of eternal justice and peace.[2] Both branches also made common use of the title "Son of God." But the Hellenists went beyond the gospel of the Twelve by deepening and broadening these terms. "Son of Man" has a deeper sense in Jn. than in the Synoptic literature. It does not appear at all in Paul. "Son of God" is Paul's more characteristic title for Jesus. But in Paul the title "Son of God" no longer bears its Old Testament sense of "theocratic king," ruler who speaks and acts for God. The Hellenists did not go about preaching a coming Son of David destined to shatter the Gentiles in pieces like a potter's vessel. In Paul and Jn. the title Son of God has a theological if not a metaphysical sense. Our own Hellenistic evangelist is well designated the "Theologian" by the Greek fathers, for here Christian theology begins its long battle with Greek philosophy.

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* First Peter (ca. 85 A.D.) shows traces of Petrine doctrine under its Pauline teaching and phraseology, but not even I Pt. 1:20 f. goes beyond a doctrine of predestination and epiphany. I Pt. 1:11 f. identifies the spirit of prophecy with "the spirit of Christ" but even this can hardly be called "preexistence."

Modern biographers of Jesus have done well to disencumber their pages more and more from this theological or philosophical problem. It is quite beyond the province of the biographer, certainly beyond that of the mere lecturer on the Life of Christ, to attempt to say how much of truth there is in Jn.'s method of conceiving "the witness." Is incarnation a fact? Does the Eternal reveal Himself in lives of devotion like that of Jesus? We have the experience of those who have not seen and yet have believed, men who declare with Jn. "The witness is this, that God gave unto us eternal life, and this life is in His Son." Does this experience afford a solid basis for religion? These are questions for the theologian. The biographer must be content to tell the story of fact as historical criticism reveals it. Nevertheless he cannot be indifferent to the great question: Why? To treat this life of lives, to treat any life, as a mere record of fact, as the "behaviorist" treats the impulses of animals, is to blind oneself to the deepest significance of all. The biographer can no more conceive his task in this mechanical way than the historian can consent to reduce his drama of events to the level of "battles of rooks and daws." The doctrine of incarnation cannot indeed continue to mean for us what it meant in the age of Paul and Jn.; but we have not ceased to believe in a "light continually coming into the world to lighten every man." We still hold that this light of life came to its unique "fulness of grace and truth" in Jesus the Son of God. It is the eternal meaning of that life of utter devotion, that unsurpassable victory of faith, that makes it worth while age after age to study the Life of Christ. And for *this* life the center of gravity is shifted.

III

But if successive ages are to bring progress in our study each must bring the tribute of its own distinctive skill. In the great period to whose beginnings we looked back a few moments ago, when Germany saw a new birth of Philosophy and historical criticism, this country and France a new birth of civil liberty, traditionalism began to be superseded by critical inquiry. The biblical record was subjected to an analysis more searching than ever before. Through the fire of rebellion against Church authority there emerged a new and more fruitful treatment of the Scriptures. A great preacher and teacher of today summed it up for students at Yale a few years ago in a lecture course entitled *The Modern Use of the Bible.* Fosdick vindicates Robinson's prophecy of "more light to break forth from the Scriptures"; but not from the Old Testament alone. Early in the nineteenth century the Gospels became the focal point of criticism and debate. From then until the appearance of Schweitzer's masterly volume in 1901 we have a century of concentrated effort to uncover the springs of power which gave rise to the greatest of world religions.

For the Lives of Christ which appeared during the nineteenth century and their significance in relation to the growth of historical criticism and religious thought I must refer you to Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus.* Our attention will be fully occupied if we take even the most superficial survey of the three decades which have followed, attempting, however rudely, some such classification as he has made.

Schweitzer was convinced that the work of the brilliant and lamented Wrede, in conjunction with his own, had supplied the long-sought key to Jesus' marvellous career. It was to be found in the literature of Apocalypse. The animating motive of Jesus' preaching in Galilee, and still more of his mortal defiance of the powers ecclesiastical and secular in Jerusalem, was the conviction that the cataclysm of divine intervention depicted in this literature of despair was at the very point of fulfilment. In almost a frenzy of patriotic and religious ardor Jesus staked all on his challenge to the skies—and lost. His word and work can barely be distinguished from fanaticism. The temporary wave of enthusiasm it aroused sufficed while the delusion lasted, but has permanent value only as subsequent ages can translate into sober modern equivalents the wild dreams of a nature which, however inherently noble, was carried away by the religious passions of the time. Such was the key supplied by apocalypse.[3]

The school of thought represented by Wrede and Schweitzer has been called "eschatological" because of its one-sided emphasis. I call it "one-sided" because in any event apocalypse must be acknowledged as a vitally important factor in the problem. The school counts names no less distinguished than that of the late lamented Johannes Weiss. Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell with his *Prophet of Nazareth*

(1905) may be grouped here. It appealed with surprising force even to so cautious and conservative a scholar as the beloved Sanday of Oxford. Minds most open to the necessity of placing the story of Jesus in the historical setting of his own age and conditions of thought were most impressed by it. Nevertheless reaction has come. Our oldest, most reliable sources for the teaching of Jesus mark a clear distinction between the Baptist's warning of wrath to come, and the glad tidings of a redemptive work of the present Spirit (or Wisdom) of God. For Jesus the kingdom of God was not only imm*i*nent but also imm*a*nent.

Nineteenth century historical criticism led to another reaction whose reverberations were felt even in America. Indeed an American, W. B. Smith, once professor of mathematics, later of philosophy, in Tulane University, had much to do with its beginnings. His work, published in German, was called *The Pre-Christian Jesus* (*Der Vorchristliche Jesus,* 1906). A full account of this and other attempts to account for Christianity without a historical Jesus will be found in the chapter headed "The Mythical Christ of Radical Criticism" (Ch. II) in Professor Case's scholarly volume *The His-*

toricity of Jesus (1912). It seems strange to us that the streets of Jena, Marburg, Giessen, Leipzig and Berlin in 1910 echoed to the cries of opposing multitudes, "Jesus existed" "Jesus never existed" ("Jesus hat gelebt, Jesus hat nicht gelebt"). The opposition between what was called "the Historical Jesus" of "liberal" theology (the subject of Case's first chapter) and the orthodox apologetic familiar to you all led to this extraordinary propaganda. It had advocates many, sociologists, biologists, mathematicians, philosophers, but was significantly destitute of one scholar having a reputation to lose in the field of historical criticism. Thorburn's *Jesus the Christ, Historical or Mythical* (1912) sounds the easy triumph song of traditional apologetic over a futile, ill-advised assault.

Returning to what were assumed to be the results of "liberal" criticism of the Gospel records, the all conquering psychologists took their turn. Hall's *The Christ in the Light of Psychology* (1917) led the way. The promised "light" proved indeed a darkening of counsel; but it had this useful effect, it proved the folly of attempting to overleap the gap of forty years between the subject and the record, applying psycho-analysis to Jesus before even attempting to apply it to the evangelists and the generation which they represent.

The latest decade has seen the rise of a new school of Gospel criticism. This takes to itself the curious name of the study of form (*Formgeschichte*), meaning that it uses to bridge this gap between life and record the traces of application still stamped upon the anecdotes and sayings strung loosely together in our four Gospels. It looks backward to the obscure period of oral tradition, when Peter bore his simple witness of remembered "sayings and doings of the Lord."

Our Gospels are neither history nor biography; they are agglutinations of reminiscences, partly apologetic, partly catechetic in purpose. Their authors are scarcely awake to the consciousness of creating a literature. Their main purpose is to preserve the tradition of Jesus' career and teaching as it had served catechists and missionaries until their own post-apostolic time. There are two nuclei around which the stories are grouped, Baptism and the Supper.[4] Just as the legends of the patriarchs of Israel fasten to the shrines, the institutions, the ritual of settled Israel, so the stories, the parables, the dialogues of our evangelists, give both more and less than the record of Jesus' life. They are, as the students of folk-lore say, "ætiological." The evangelists draw from the stories handed down what they can apply to their own religious purposes, explaining and supporting the beliefs and practices of the Church by attaching thereto sayings and doings of the Lord.

They afford only a selection; but if we deplore what they have consigned to oblivion we should also be grateful for the reflected light of their own times, the witness they unconsciously bear to Christianity as it had come to be in the post-apostolic age. Such a biography as Bultmann's *Jesus,* published in 1926 by the able writer of *The History of Synoptic Tradition* (*Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition,* 1921) will exemplify the contribution of the latest school of Gospel criticism to our enquiry.

As I turn from this inadequate survey of recent attempts to meet the immeasurable, unending task that lies before us I must confess that my courage fails. Greater longing cannot be than that which impels me to offer even the smallest addition to the common theme. Yet I could not but shrink from the attempt were it my part to complete a building on which minds so much greater and more richly furnished have bestowed their best. Fortunately I am not charged with this. My part is not an end but a beginning. I do not even expect an end from those who succeed me on this Foundation. I and they together will have done our part if with God's help we kindle in your hearts a flame of devotion and loyalty, a determination to follow on to know the Lord. Our best of all rewards will be if we hear you say as the men of Samaria said to their countrywoman who had first talked with the Prophet: "Now we believe, not because of thy speaking: for we have heard for ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Savior of the world." *

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* Jn. 4: 42.

Lecture II

WHAT THE EYE SAW

WHAT THE EYE SAW

In the preceding lecture I reminded you that we are to celebrate within a few weeks the nineteen hundredth anniversary of the greatest of all martyrdoms. It is something of a coincidence that on the thirtieth of May next year we shall be observing the five hundredth anniversary of that martyrdom which to my mind comes nearest in all history to the martyrdom of Christ.

I do not forget the great differences which exalt the career of Jesus of Nazareth, martyred for his ideal of a kingdom of God, above that of the illiterate peasant girl of Dom Rémy, martyred for her ideal of a redeemed kingdom of France. Joan of Arc was delivered up at the age of nineteen by fanatical foes, political and ecclesiastical, among her own countrymen to death at the stake in Rouen at the hands of English conquerors. Jeanne's ideal was local in its significance, that of Jesus was universal. His cross raises a standard of liberation for humanity through reconciliation with the common Father. He deliberately rejected the arbitrament of the sword. Jeanne's ideal also, it is true, enjoins and exemplifies gentleness and mercy, it shows heroic self-sacrifice, absolute purity of devotion, chivalrous loyalty even to the most cowardly ingrate that ever wore a crown; it shows obedience unto death at the stake to the inward call of God. Nevertheless its appeal was to the sword, it sought a kingdom of this world, though cherishing the delusive hope that thus the ideal reign of freedom, justice and peace would be achieved. Jeanne pledged her unworthy sovereign to hold the crown she proffered him as a fief from "the King of heaven." Charles was ready to swear anything to get it.

It is not because I ignore this vast difference that I recall the heroism, the chivalry, the purity of heart and purpose of the simple-hearted girl summoned to her task by the title "daughter of God" *(fille Dé)*. It is because I feel the need of some career within the control of modern research to demonstrate what things are possible to them that believe. How account for the impression made? Without some such analogy demonstrating the almost incredible power of whole-hearted religious faith it is hard to take in the full significance of the life, the appeal, the martyrdom, the victory of Jesus.

The hypocritical court of Caiaphas devoted a night session to proving Jesus a blasphemer, as an excuse for handing him over to Pilate. Had the pharisaic priests and scribes of the Sanhedrin spent weary months in repeated enquiries and cross-examinations, vainly seeking to entangle their victim in some weakness, some self-contradiction, some evidence of self-seeking or insincerity, to justify their predetermined verdict; had they transmitted to us in five volumes the official records of their own perfidy, we could know the story of Jesus somewhat as we know that of Joan of Arc. We should have Jesus' own frank answers to those who demanded: "By what authority doest thou these things?" That would give the sort of biography we should like to write, had we even to take a Caiaphas instead of a Cauchon as chief witness.

In reality our chief witness is a rough fisherman of Galilee, one who like a LaHire or D'Aulons, Jeanne's loyal companions in arms, could "curse and swear" when no longer restrained by her presence. Hers was the simple religion of the devout but illiterate peasant girl who trusted and revered the parish priest, but scarcely veiled her contempt for the prelates and clerics of Paris with their theological quiddities. Jeanne's companions, like herself, were "people of the soil." They had more skill with sword or plough than with the pen, and if under the influence of the Maid they were brought to their knees before a battle the supplication will have been of the type of LaHire's famous confession and prayer: "O God, I do the things done by other men at arms. I pray thee, do for me what I would do for thee, were I God, and thou LaHire."

The "men of the soil" *(àm ha-aretz)* who rallied to the standard of Jesus in Galilee stood in no better favor with the "scribes who came down from Jerusalem" than Jeanne's comrades with the prelates and doctors from Paris who doomed her to the stake. Like these they knew and cared little for the earlier years of their Master. Their interest began with his Call from God and the single year of his appointed task. Even of his trial and martyrdom they knew only what could be learned by hearsay. Simon Peter's witness is practically all we have, and that little was recorded only after the Apostle's death. It comes to us piecemeal, translated from his rude Aramaic speech, as in later years he went from place to place telling his story of "the sayings and doings of the Lord"; "not in order, but as religious needs required."[1]

The Gospel story is what Jeanne's might be without those records of court enquiry and cross-examination. Put, if you will, alongside of LaHire, Jean D'Aulons, a conventional boyish St. John, bearing his witness to the purity of the Maid at the shamefaced trial of rehabilitation which twenty-five years later reversed the disgraceful verdict of 1431; add all the fantastic wonder-tales which in the meantime had floated down the stream of popular report; sift them in the light of that fiercely hostile record, and you will have something comparable to the task which confronts the Gospel critic.

Take these as examples of the nuclei around which a credulous and wonder-loving generation delights to weave its tales of miracle. Jeanne was accused of attempted suicide by her bloodthirsty judges because of her leap of sixty feet from the top of her prison-tower to the ground below, where she was recaptured insensible, but as if by miracle without a broken bone or permanent injury. Her brave supporters at Compiègne had held out against five months of siege under threat of massacre. Jeanne had promised to come to their deliverance. She admitted to her judges that her desperate attempt had been in disobedience to her voices (an admission which they promptly recorded against her in spite of their own effort to prove her a sorceress for obeying them). She acknowledged it as a disobedience for which she had later sought and obtained forgiveness. "But," she added, "I had rather die than live after such a massacre of good people. That was one of the reasons for my leap from the tower of Beaurevoir. The other reason was that I was sold to the English (a literal fact); and I would rather die than be in the hands of my enemies of England." Her choice was well founded.

Take another example. The charge of sorcery was further based on a report that at Lagny Jeanne had raised a dead child to life. This is her answer: "I was told that the maids of the town had brought the child before the image of the Virgin. It was an infant three days old. I was asked to go and pray to God and the Virgin that its life might be restored. I went with the other maids and prayed, and at last there seemed to be life in the child, who gasped thrice and was baptized, then immediately died and was buried in holy ground." Cauchon and his prelates who found in that a proof of healing by sorcery recall certain ecclesiastics from Jerusalem who explained similar healings by a similar accusation and received this answer: "If I exorcise by Beelzebub, by whom do your sons exorcise? But if by the finger of God then His sovereignty has overtaken you unawares."

Such was the brief tragedy of 1900 years ago, with its background of support from the lowly, jealousy from the religious leaders. Clement of Rome, writing in 95 A.D., ascribes the whole tragedy to this sole motive, jealousy of religious leadership. It always seemed to me an inadequate explanation of an incredible crime. The closer study I give to the sinister forces which delivered Jeanne over to the English to be burnt at the stake in 1431 the more I feel that jealousy of religious leadership is precisely the explanation I should give in her case. Can we say otherwise of the ecclesiastics of 30 A.D.?

In both cases the drama is brief. Jeanne herself testified while still looking for the ransom her cowardly king held back to spend on his favorite Tremoïlle, that her voices had warned her that her career could last (as it did) "but one year and perhaps a little over." It is not for the central figures of the drama that I have made the comparison, but for the impression made in "one year and a little more," for the setting and background, the elements we are slowest to take in.

Only as one understands the conditions of period and environment, the sinister power of malignant forces that still oppose the right and true, can one appreciate the Adversary that Jesus faced. Only as one takes home the full meaning of that great saying: "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed hence and cast into the sea and it shall be done," can one realize the appeal and the power of a loyal spirit answering wholeheartedly to the call of God. "One believer," says a commentator on Jeanne's story, "is mightier than a hundred unbelievers." Jeanne, and the Master on whose name she called with a great cry in her dying agony, "Jesus," were alike in their appeal to "faith." Whatever victory the world admits for either was a victory of faith, an indomitable faith in God cherished in their own souls, a faith infused into the souls of simple-hearted followers by lives of transparent loyalty and truth. Thus armed they "subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the power of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, from weakness were made strong, turned to flight armies of aliens." Our fourth evangelist calls it "the victory that hath overcome the world."

I

The Petrine story of Jesus begins with the baptism of John. It told of how at "the baptism which John preached," "God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with holy Spirit and with power, so that he went about doing good, healing all that were under the tyranny of the devil." * The reason why all tales of earlier marvels are ignored, if any were already current, is self-evident. The gospel begins with the Call from God, Jesus' Voice from heaven. His self-dedication was the model for every baptism, in which the Spirit of Adoption testified with the believer's that he was "born of God."

Even Jesus' Call was not known to Peter by personal observation. The story forms a kind of preface to the Gospel of Mk. prefixed to the account of how Peter and his companions left their nets to become with Jesus "fishers of men." Its form is symbolic.[2] Whether by some later intimate utterance of Jesus to hesitant followers, or perhaps only as a reflection

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* Acts 10: 38.

of their whole experience with him, it gives in imaginative terms an account of why he summoned them, why he himself had left the carpenter's bench in devotion to a new and higher ideal. Either way it was revealing.

Comparison to the "voices" of Jeanne D'Arc would, I think, be misleading. Jeanne is marvellous in her straightforward common sense, no less than in that prodigious energy of mind and body which has characterized other mystics such as St. Paul; but she is certainly to be set down as clairvoyant and clairaudient, whatever sense psychologists may attach to those descriptive terms. I do not think we can say this of Jesus. He does use symbolic language. It is characteristic of his time and people. But when he says: "I beheld Satan as lightning falling from heaven" he is using the language, *not* recounting the experience of clairvoyance. Fourteen hundred years later it is unconsciously echoed. At the siege of St. Pierre de Moustiers the storming parties were driven back. D'Aulons, who had been wounded, saw the Maid left alone beneath the wall supported only by two or three lancers and their men. D'Aulons struggled into the saddle, rode to her and asked why she did not retreat, but remained alone. She raised the visor of her helmet and said: "I am not alone. With me are 50,000 of my own, and retreat I will not till I have taken this town." We are told of similiar words of Jesus in Gethsemane, not probably authentic but a true reflection of his spirit. "Thinkest thou not that even now my Father would send me more than ten legions of angels?" * In this case neither utterance has reference to actual clairvoyance. Both use the symbolic language typical of the prophet, but especially characteristic of the religious teacher of Jesus' time.

It is religious symbolism which is used to describe the inward experience of Jesus when he dedicated himself at John's baptism to the cause of the Kingdom, it is religious symbolism which is employed to interpret the significance of the Call from God in the connected story of his testing by Satan. I fail to discover anything in the development of Jesus' strong and steady career which bespeaks the visionary and ecstatic. In my judgment those who regard him as such are misled by a mode of speech characteristic of the prophets and religious leaders of Israel.

Still we are justified in using the little we know of

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* Mt. 26:53.

Jesus' earlier years to shed light upon the story of his divine calling at the baptism of John, the Spirit of Adoption testifying, "Thou art my Son." We have two data: It was not usual for youths in Galilee to remain unmarried. Jesus' early renunciation of the tenderest and noblest dreams of youth cannot be accounted for by any necessities of the family, which counted married brothers and sisters younger than himself. It can best be accounted for by a saying which has the attestation, it is true, of but one evangelist, and that not the best, a saying, moreover, which seems primarily to concern John the Baptist, but nevertheless throws indirect light on the youthful days of Jesus himself. His disciples had reflected, as later Paul reflects, on the dubious blessings of matrimony. Jesus answered: "There are eunuchs which were so born, and there are eunuchs which were made so by men; there are also eunuchs which made themselves such for the kingdom of heaven's sake."* Why was Jesus unmarried? In the Maid's case her voices bade her keep her virginity till her appointed task was fulfilled. We read of no voice from heaven to the youthful Jesus bidding him make this renunciation; but it was made, and made "for the sake of God's kingdom." The fact sheds a gleam of light, however faint, back into those days of obscurity.

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*Mt. 19:12.

It does not stand wholly alone. Out of the still earlier past comes one story so sweet and simple, so wholly what we should expect from Jesus' boyhood, that its occurrence only in the relatively late tradition of Lk. cannot deprive it of the value at least of the "might-have-beens." The story of the twelve-year-old boy, taken like others to Jerusalem to be made "a son of the Law," has a kindred climax. Separated from his father and mother in the confusion of departure of the festal caravan, Jesus was found in the temple listening to the teaching of rabbis and asking questions. "How is it that ye sought me?" he asks of his distracted parents, "wist ye not that I would be occupied with the things which concern my Father?" Other children of devout Jewish parents might speak of God as "Our Father" or even "My Father." The point of the story is only Jesus' preoccupation. His was a wholesome boyhood, so sound and sane that there was little to tell. Only that with adolescence those nearest him observed a certain bent of mind toward the things which concerned the Kingdom of God.

Later apologetic stumbled at the fact that Jesus went forth with other Galileans to the baptism of John, "a baptism of repentance unto remission of sins." It was not only that. It was a baptism of dedication to the cause of an impending Kingdom of God, to "make ready a people prepared for the Coming." Not only from Jesus' acceptance of this baptism but from his extraordinary tribute to the greatness of the prophet and his message, we know how profoundly he was moved by it.[8] The rest is lost in the transfiguring cloud of symbolism. There is nothing in Peter's story to indicate how long the interval may have been between Jesus' baptism and his appearance at the Lake of Galilee. We are only told that it was after the startling news that Herod Antipas had shut up John in prison, and that Jesus proposed to a group of four fishermen whom he found there at their nets to join him in carrying on John's interrupted work. He would make them, he said, "fishers of men." Scattered Israel, dispersed and leaderless, should be gathered into a "people prepared for the Coming." Peter tells of no previous meeting. It is only on the basis of late and mingled tradition in the Hellenistic Gospel that we can form a conjecture of earlier association, an association which could assure Jesus of a sympathetic hearing for his bold proposal, and can explain to us why these apparent strangers should drop their means of livelihood, "leave all and follow him." The Call of the Four begins the second period of Jesus' story.

It was no light matter to seize the falling standard of the imprisoned prophet and advance it from desert solitudes to the heart of turbulent Galilee. There was no secret about the motive of Antipas in seizing John. If we may speak even at this early time of the court party as "Herodians" their attitude was easy to divine. Zealots might welcome the cry "the Kingdom of God is at hand" as a call to arms; but their adherence, unconverted, would be no asset but a liability. Jesus could appeal to patriots; but they must be patriots for a kingdom "not of this world," one whose servants must be ready to suffer, but never to fight. Quietistic Pharisees, hoping for the intervention of God, were utterly disillusioned by their experience under the later Maccabees as to earthly or human means. They might be nearer to Jesus' mind than the Zealots; but only if willing to cease from their blind attachment to the scribes as exponents of the Law. Under the leadership of scribes and Pharisees Israel had already become a "people of the Book";[4] it must be made a people of the living God.

There remained only the "people of the soil" *(ʿam ha-aretz),* a scattered, leaderless, unchurched multitude, partly devout in their own simple fashion, partly publicans and sinners such as had flocked to the baptism of John. Could one fashion from these the nucleus of a new Israel, a people "prepared for the Coming"? Questions such as these could not but present themselves to men challenged to begin the "fishery of men." It speaks well for the courage of those four fishermen that they "left all and followed." It speaks volumes for the contagious power of a voice ringing with the old authority of prophecy, echoing the message of the imprisoned herald of God, renewing the call throughout Galilee: "The time of God's alienation is past. His kingdom is at hand. Repent, and believe the glad tidings."

The home of these four fishermen was Capernaum, the modern Tell Hum[5] on the north shore of the Lake, principal town of the populous and thriving district of Gennesaret. The traveller today may enter among its ruins into the very synagogue, rebuilt after the war of Bar Cochba, where on the

Sabbath following this scene at the fishing boats Jesus delivered his message. The consent of the rulers of the Synagogue was not hard to obtain. One of them was Jairus, of whom we hear later. But combined conviction and emotion gave an unwonted ring to the speaker's voice. The message was that of the imprisoned prophet delivered with a prophet's authority, "not as the scribes," not as "from men." An interruption came, unexpected and destined to have momentous consequences, the outcry of a demented man, peremptorily silenced by Jesus with a rebuke that had the effect of an exorcism. The "possessed" man fell in a fit, but was carried out in his right mind. Returned to Peter's house, where Peter's wife's mother lay shaking with ague, no wonder "they tell him of her." No wonder he consented to pray for her and take her by the hand. To moderns there is no wonder either that the fever dropped as if by magic, and Peter's wife's mother joined in the preparations to receive the honored guest.

But to Capernaum it was a great wonder. After sunset, when the sick could be moved, almost the whole city gathered at the door to obtain the help of the "prophet" who in one day had twice obtained "the help which is from God." "Many, sick with divers diseases, were healed," says the record, "and many devils were cast out."

The result was an unexpected change of program. Hitherto, clearly, extension of Jesus' work beyond Capernaum and its neighbor towns had not been in contemplation. To Jesus' four followers the newly discovered powers of their leader were simply a Godsend of tremendous reenforcement. To Jesus also they were a Godsend, but one which involved such dangers and perplexities as sent him forth into a solitary place long before dawn to wrestle out his problem in prayer. There they found him after daylight. But he refused to return. To Simon's astonished protest, "All are seeking thee," he answered, "Let us go elsewhere into the next towns, that I may preach there also. This importunity is just the reason why I left Capernaum." So he "went into their synagogues throughout all Galilee, preaching and casting out demons."

That is the end of the first scene of Jesus' public career, told with the simplicity and brevity of a fisherman's tale. Mk. appends at the end of the chapter a further example from a different source, repeating instance and conclusion in heightened form. But the picture is complete without Mk.'s supplement of the cleansing of the leper.

The addition serves to link on a second group of anecdotes whose motive appears with equal distinctness in its conclusion: "The Pharisees went out, and straightway with the Herodians took counsel against him how they might destroy him."

Three parties appear as active in this growing opposition. These are first, as we should expect, "the scribes," jealous for their religious leadership. They take offense at the corollary which Jesus has drawn from his message. "Repent, for the Kingdom is at hand." He proclaimed that the time of Jehovah's alienation had gone by. Forgiveness was here. How could he fail to declare when people did "repent and believe the glad tidings" that God forgave their sins? Especially when God was showing His approval by "stretching forth His hand to heal"? But the scribes called this "blasphemy."

The Pharisees wavered, but on the whole sided with the scribes. Jesus was quite too free in associating with the unchurched multitude. Besides, he was not careful about fasts and Sabbaths. How could a real prophet disregard the Torah? How could he show no signs of horror at the contaminating touch of "a woman that was a sinner"?

Not even all "the disciples of John" were ready to follow the new leader. They were rather sympathetic with the Pharisees as respects prayers, purifications, and fastings, if not as to withdrawal from "sinners." Jesus said his message was to proclaim glad tidings, his business not with the well and strong but with the sick. He had not come to preach hell fire, but the saving power of God. What he did preach will be told hereafter. His conduct and its issue is our present concern.

The group of anecdotes culminates as we have seen. Mk. relates as a climax to the growing ill-will of the religious leaders a scene in the synagogue where Jesus did not hesitate to invoke the healing power of God on behalf of a man with a withered hand, though he knew his Pharisaic enemies were watching to see if he would heal on the Sabbath. So ends the second period of the story.

The growing conflict led to a new development. Jesus and his following withdrew from the synagogues and gathered in the open air by the lakeside. A boat's prow served for pulpit, the fame of his works of healing almost overwhelmed him with the pressure of the throng.

He did more than heal and teach, he chose twelve "that they might be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, and to have authority to exorcise." And with this mention of the Twelve Mk. begins a new group of anecdotes covering a third period. They are framed to show first, how the appointed "apostles" were given their message, "the mystery of the Kingdom of God," second, how they learned the lesson of "Faith-wonders" by association with Jesus. We shall hear more of the "mystery of the Kingdom" in the next lecture. Mk. is chiefly interested in the miracles and their consequences, "the signs of an apostle." The group of five faith-wonders leading over to the Sending of the Twelve forms the natural conclusion of a story which necessarily called for an explanation to the unconverted of what an "apostle" must aim to do, and where he gets his authority.

The story of the expanded Galilean ministry, the third period, ends with defeat. Just as the news of John's imprisonment gave the signal for its beginning, so the news of the prophet's martyrdom at the hands of Antipas leads to its close. The twelve returned rejoicing at their popular success, but Jesus is driven into exile. Mk. ascribes it to the hostility of "the scribes from Jerusalem," and brings in thereby a long section omitted by Lk. telling of how Jesus passed the frontier, breaking down the barriers of Jewish particularism by setting at defiance the rules of "clean and unclean." No doubt the scribes and Pharisees did their best to rid themselves of Jesus' unwelcome ministry to the "people of the soil"; but Lk. is beyond question more historical in making the menace from Herod the occasion for retreat. Jesus escaped for the time being into the adjacent territory of Philip, crossing the lake with a handful of followers to Bethsaida, ultimately reaching Cæsarea.

Thus ends the third period of the story. The Galilean multitude were for a time left leaderless, but not without a leave-taking which became so memorable as to be institutionalized in the so-called Love-feast of the Church. Indeed it was increasingly assimilated in the reports of it which all the evangelists use to conclude this half of their narrative. It forms an intentional pendant to the account of the final leave-taking in Jerusalem. Finally in the fourth Gospel the story of the Feeding of the Galilean Multitude and leave-taking of Jesus, combined with his triumph over the powers of darkness in the boat-scene on the lake, has actually displaced entirely the story of the Last Supper.

The Miracle of the Loaves is told no less than six times in slightly variant versions in the Gospels, a proof that, to Jesus' Galilean following at least, it had much of the religious value and significance of the eucharist itself. The story of the miraculous supply is really incidental, dependent entirely on mere numerical count, which varies in the parallel versions. Whoever finds its principal lesson in the bare wonder should be satisfied to know that the theme is ancient, and fully developed in Jn.'s parallel between it and Moses' gift of manna in the wilderness. The narrative itself implies that what was required was no more than willingness to share —a lesson perpetuated in the Church Love-feast, with results which might well seem miraculous to those who witnessed its triumph through faith and love over seemingly hopeless destitution. The miracle is easily traced to popular exaggeration. What the critical historian needs to realize is that Jesus' spirit and example left behind him already in Galilee such a mustard-seed of faith as would surely become in due time a great tree, putting out great branches.

II

In all our Gospels the second part is concerned with the journey to Jerusalem and Jesus' obedience unto death to his divine call. Its historic root is to be found in those apostolic explanations of the parting supper and its significance which Paul implies when rebuking the Corinthians for their unworthy observance. Paul reminds his converts of the story which began "In that same night in which Jesus was betrayed." You see he presupposes their knowledge of the circumstances. He proceeds to tell how Jesus "took bread and brake it" uttering his last and greatest parable. The nucleus round which all our narratives of the Way of the Cross have grouped themselves is what Paul thus describes, showing it to be already a "sacred story" "delivered" to him in unbroken transmission "from the Lord" himself. That chain has been abused, it has been made a cause of division instead of unity in the Church, but it has never been broken. It still bears a living, irrefutable witness in every generation to Jesus' devotion for the Kingdom's sake. It still unites all humanity wherever hearts sharing in that devotion make the common goal higher than the barriers of creed and sect. From that scene of unquenchable light the rays are thrown backward into obscurity, the obscurity of exile.

As the first half of the Gospel story develops the theme of baptism, starting from the Spirit of Adoption which witnessed with the spirit of Jesus that he was born of God and sent him forth gifted with the word of revelation and the word of power, so the second half develops the theme of the eucharistic cup, beginning with the great saying at Cæsarea Philippi: "He that would save his life shall lose it, and he that will lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it unto life eternal." The first half of the record is prefaced by a symbolic interpretation of the significance of the baptism of the Spirit. The second half again employs the symbolism of clairvoyance and clairaudience to explain the doctrine of dying to live.

Let me remind you again not to confuse the language of oriental symbolism with actual ecstasy. This time it is not Jesus who receives the revelation. It is the three leading apostles, Peter, James and John, to whom is conveyed in vision with accompanying Voice from heaven the meaning of the message they are to proclaim after "the Son of Man should have risen from the dead."[6] But we must go back of the Transfiguration story to the events which it interprets.

We may pass over the obscure and diverse narratives with which our evangelists attempt to fill out the blank of the days of exile. The anecdotes reveal but little of geography and chronology. Their value is illustrative of certain phases of Jesus' work and teaching, surplus material indispensable to the picture each evangelist desires to complete, but which he knows not how to place. We know that Jesus did withdraw from Galilee to the parts of Cæsarea Philippi, and that he did secretly return to rally a company of still loyal followers for the dangerous journey to Jerusalem. But for the incidents intervening, save the one we designate Peter's Confession, we have only the faintest gleams of light.

For the journey which followed, from Capernaum to Jericho, we are scarcely better informed. Mk.'s anecdotes are not fitted to either chronology or geography. They are fitted, as before, purely and simply to the religious lesson, Renunciation for the Kingdom's sake. From the critic's point of view Mk.'s account of the Way of the Cross has scarcely more historical value than Lk.'s so-called Perean ministry. It purports to be a journey like that of Paul to his fate in Acts. In reality it is simply a receptacle for unplaced material. A case almost equally good could be made out for Jn.'s interval of six months of journeying between Capernaum and Jerusalem, Bethany beyond Jordan and Bethany on the Mount of Olives, Ephraim in Samaria and finally back again to Jerusalem. The only certainty is that Jesus did return from the safety of exile with his face set like a flint to go up to Jerusalem. The fourth period of the story begins with a second Call to the Disciples, this time not to service only but to martyrdom.

The fate of John was clearly before Jesus' eyes. It needed no clairvoyance to tell what was likely to happen if he defied all his opponents together at Jerusalem. Scribes and Pharisees conspiring with the murderer of John had already made an open continuation of his work in Galilee impossible. How much chance of success was there if he added to the opposing force all the weight of priesthood and Sanhedrin at Jerusalem with the sinister power of Rome in the background?

On the other hand what was the alternative?

Could Jesus leave the lost sheep of the house of Israel and try the task of a Peripatetic, Cynic or Orphic street-preacher among the "cities of the Gentiles"? The prospect was no more inherently hopeful than consonant with his mission.

Could he retire into obscurity and wait for a more favorable opportunity? More favorable opportunities were not likely to arise if he attempted to revive a message grown cold and stale by neglect. What of the sayings about setting one's hand to the plough and turning back? What of the example of John?

Jesus did not hesitate long over the road he should choose. But he did wait long enough to give his handful of followers full warning of the fate they were challenging. He also waited long enough to rally his forces and use them to the utmost for the purpose in view. When Jesus and the twelve joined the Passover caravan "a multitude from Galilee" followed in their wake.

We may reasonably hold that Jesus had in mind to carry to completion the work of the great prophet whom he revered as the last and greatest of God's messengers.[7] If so, there could be no method of appealing to all Israel at the Feast of Redemption more to the mind of John the Baptist than to sweep control of the temple out of the unworthy hands of the Sadducean priesthood. With or without such retrospect Jesus sought to direct the aims of a popular following committed to the ideal of a new Israel toward making the Father's home in reality "a house of prayer for all nations." John had come of priestly stock. John had been the very embodiment of the prophetic ideal of Malachi, in which a purified temple, centre of worship for a redeemed humanity, is the cardinal principle. We must judge of what Jesus went to Jerusalem to do by what he actually did, and by the answer he gave to those who demanded by what authority he did it. Forty of his Galilean fellow-countrymen thirty-four years before had perished heroically for a less worthy ideal. Under the goading of the rabbis Mattathias and Sepphoraios these forty youths had undertaken to purify the temple from what they considered the unlawful use of a great golden eagle Herod had set up over the entrance. It was a symbol of immortality such as we still see at Palmyra and Baalbek. But Jesus had in mind no mere legalistic purification. He aimed to restore his Father's house to its central place in the national life and destiny as visioned by the great prophets. His action was not a mere vain defiance flung in the teeth of death, like that of the forty youths. In the temple precincts Jesus and his following were on neutral soil. Rome expressly kept its hands off the religious centre. That single precinct was under exclusively Jewish control. It was for the Jews themselves to say whether they would leave it in the hands of the corrupt and greedy Sadducean hierocracy, or, rallying to the bloodless overthrow of a crying abuse give the temple and themselves to the religio-national ideal of the great prophets.

Jesus' purification of the temple was not a momentary impulse. It was planned with the wisdom of the serpent as well as the harmlessness of the dove. It was revolution, but bloodless, ecclesiastical rather than political, kept within the limits of the religious sphere to which Roman power had restricted the national life. And the proof that it was not chimerical is the narrowness of the margin by which it failed of success. For three days Jesus held control of the temple. His popular support forced the Sanhedrin to hold their hatred in check, asking only the futile question of Jesus' authority. Jesus answered it by referring them to the authority of John, and all the people acknowledged John to be a prophet. The fourth period of the story sounds the great challenge. The religious leadership of Israel was at stake.

The fifth period is a period of suspense. At Jerusalem Jesus' wily foes were held at bay long enough for his adherents to imagine the decisive victory already won. They held a feast in the house of a certain Simon in Bethany. One enthusiastic woman poured upon his head a vial of costly ointment. But Jesus, while lauding her act of faith, gave it a disheartening significance: "Not for my coronation has she anointed me, but for the tomb." His vision was undeluded. Defection had already begun and Jesus knew it. The tide was ebbing. The Pharisees had drawn from Jesus a public denial of any political aim. Galilean fanatics were disappointed. A cowardly supporter betrayed him into the hands of Caiaphas.

The rest of the tragedy is soon told. Gethsemane and Golgotha close Mk.'s account of What the Eye Saw. It is a sixth period, not obscure, but seen in an unearthly light, for its look is forward. Only the clear-shining radiance of the parting tryst, the pledge to meet again at the great Redemption banquet of the Kingdom, remained. That distant star of hope, dimmed for an hour, was not perpetually eclipsed. It shone on in Peter's heart until moved by the finger of God Peter "turned again and strengthened his brethren."

Our Gospel of Mk. leaves the story of Peter unfinished. The supreme climax is just beyond. Not because the evangelist could be ignorant of the very key-stone of Peter's witness, the foundation stone of the Church's faith, but because he prefers to divide his story at this point. These things are what Jesus "began to do" in the flesh. The completion "in the spirit," told by another, lay beyond the empty tomb. The "beginning of the gospel" had been Jesus' divine call at the baptism of John, its ending was the exclamation of the centurion at the cross: "Truly this man was a son of God." [8]

Lecture III

WHAT THE EAR HEARD

WHAT THE EAR HEARD*

As we approach a different aspect of the life of Christ let me remind you that all our Gospels in their present form are products of the Greek-speaking church in the post-apostolic age. Their starting-point is the missionary message of the Son of God to be awaited from heaven.† According to the flesh he is "of the seed of David" but according to the spirit he has been manifested through the resurrection to be "Son of God." The common object of all gospels is to explain and justify this title "Son of God" by the surviving witness to Jesus' career. In what sense does Q understand it?

Our historical foundation was laid in the Gospel of Mk., the oldest surviving record and probably the first considerable attempt at a biography. In a true sense, though very different from that of the obsolete Tübingen theory, Mk. is a Petro-Pauline document. Beneath its Greek dress and Roman atmosphere one can still discern the rude Aramaic speech and Syrian outlook of Peter. Its reputed author, John surnamed Mark, was a companion of Paul, mentioned in Paul's latest letters as busied in Paul's eastern mission field but perhaps under direction from Rome. But in his youth Mark had been in personal contact with Peter and the apostolic group in Jerusalem. The church in Rome, after the death first of Paul, then, shortly after, of Peter, could not have made a wiser selection than in deputing to Mark the task of collecting and recording its traditions of evangelic teaching. The primitive tradition of the Church which makes this lieutenant of Paul responsible for Rome's first collection of the miscellaneous "Reminiscences of Peter" is accepted today by all competent critics. This does not mean, of course, that the Roman Gospel has not also taken up considerable material not directly traceable to Peter. Indeed we have observed that several of its anecdotes are repeated in variant form, while other parts, such as the opening prologue, give convincing evidence of dependence upon Q, a record whose witness we have now to compare with Mk.'s.

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* The title, "What the Ear Heard," is intended to remind you that modern criticism regards most of what we know of Jesus' teaching as derived from a writing no longer extant. Mt. and Lk. have independently drawn from it their material, that is, the discourses of Jesus with which they supply in nearly identical language the deficiencies of Mk. By this coincidence we know that the so-called Teaching Source once existed. I take its witness as our subject tonight, but must forewarn you on two points: (1) I can deal only with those sections of the Source (S) which all critics acknowledge (Q), and which you will easily recognize. (2) My personal view of S differs sharply on many points from that of other critics. Do not take what I say without verification.[1]

† Cf. I Thess. 1:9 f. with Acts 17:29-21.

The Gospel of Mk. has a distinct strain of the heroic,[2] it pictures a "strong Son of God," victorious even through death over human fanaticism. Its Christ is a dying and rising Redeemer, who must triumph first over the jealous cruelty of his own people. Indeed, its only reference to Jesus' Davidic descent is a Pauline repudiation of the scribes' doctrine that the Christ must be David's son.* But in spite of this, and the fact that it offers no explanation of the popular acclamation to "the Son of David" when Jesus enters Jerusalem † it permits us to read between the lines certain evidences that restoration of the Kingdom of David, on which the Jerusalem church set its hopes for twelve years after Golgotha, was not absent from men's minds before the catastrophe.

In truth Jesus was much more than a meek and lowly rabbi, a harmless teacher ignorantly persecuted by the assassin of the Baptist, and slain by Pilate. Jesus was a prophet—and more than a prophet. He would not have suffered the cross, nor have been acclaimed the Messiah after it, if he had not impersonated in some sense the national hope. In the days of Domitian, when the title Son of David might mean bloody persecution, evangelists are naturally wary about using it. Misrepresentation, from friend and foe alike, was all too common. The evangelists naturally prefer a teaching which interprets the messianic 110th Psalm after Paul's manner: "He was indeed of the seed of David, but that was only after the flesh and had no significance. His claim to be the Son of God rested solely on the resurrection." * Mk., the Paulinist, denationalizes.[3]

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* Mk. 12: 35-37; cf. Rom. 1: 1-4.

† Mk. 10: 47 f.

Unfortunately the turbulent crowd who escorted the prophet of Nazareth into Jerusalem shouting "Blessed be the kingdom that cometh, the kingdom of our father David" thought the title "Son of David" had a great deal of significance. The Sanhedrin could at least make out a good enough case to secure their bloody purpose on the plea that Jesus' object was national. Even Jesus' own warning to his disciples not to disclose his messianic claims, and the vain efforts he made, as they themselves report, to free their minds from hopes and ambitions savoring too much of "the things of men," show

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* Rom. 1:3 f.

clearly that the enthusiasm awakened, especially in turbulent Galilee, by his ringing proclamation "The Kingdom of God is at hand," was not so free from the dangerous element of Zealot nationalism as those who depict a "liberal" Christ in the guise of a simple teacher of moral reform would have us think. Jesus was "a prophet"—and more. He was a teacher of pure religion—and more. He was (though he would not permit the term to be used) "the Christ."

Partly because of the caution observed by the evangelists we have difficulty in realizing this revolutionary aspect of Jesus' career, an aspect without which we cannot account for the deep effect of his preaching upon the masses and his *coup d'état* in the temple (for such it was, though the state involved was only the petty domain of the Sanhedrin and the revolution a bloodless one). We cannot otherwise account for the crucifixion which followed under the superscription "King of the Jews." Jesus' object was national, though not nationalistic. He was the Christ—of God. For this reason I thought it worth while to adduce, even at some length, a parallel from more recent times, which though it falls short in respect to the central figure of the drama may at least convey some realization of how the masses respond to the combined appeal of patriotism and religion when presented by the great heroes of faith and consecration. Not without reason did Joan of Arc's followers call her "Daughter of God." [4]

Pass now from the witness of Peter to that of an unknown disciple, known to us only as Mt. and Lk. have independently enriched the record of Mk. with coincident extracts from his report of the Teachings of Jesus. This unknown writer, more skilled with the pen than Mk., makes use of a writing equally unknown and earlier still, apparently a pre-Christian composition. He quotes it as "the Wisdom of God," a phrase identical with that whereby Clement of Rome in 95 A.D. introduces a similar quotation from Prov. 1:24-31. The phrase only means that the extract is from one of the sages of Israel, the so-called "Wisdom" writers. Jesus himself is represented (most appropriately) as voicing his own bitter disappointment at Israel's rejection of his message in the quotation:

"Therefore saith the Wisdom of God:
Behold, I send unto you prophets and wise men and scribes,
Some ye will kill and crucify,

> Some ye will scourge in your synagogues and persecute from city to city,
> That upon you may come all the righteous blood shed on the earth,
> From the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah
> Whom ye slew between temple and altar."

The pre-Christian poet here quoted classified the messengers of God in three successive groups, prophets, wise men (or sages), and scribes. The mention of scribes as religious leaders shows his late date. Lk. in his parallel, not unnaturally substitutes the Christian phrase "prophets and apostles." The writer of the Second Source knows of scribes who are "not far from the kingdom of God," or he would not use the quotation in this form; he thinks of John as the last and greatest of the prophets; but he thinks of Jesus primarily as the supreme messenger of the divine "Wisdom."[5]

Another quotation, perhaps from the same poetic source, is found in the longest extract we have of the Q material, a comparison of Jesus' work with that of his great fore-runner, followed by a denunciation of the generation which had stumbled at both, turning a deaf ear to the warnings of the Baptist, and a blind eye to the "mighty works" of Jesus. Speaking of the "little ones," the unconsidered masses who alone have hearkened, Jesus calls them "children of Wisdom," who "justify" her redemptive effort. He concludes by quoting this Hymn of Wisdom:

I praise Thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth,
That Thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding
And didst reveal them to 'babes';
Yea, Father, for such was Thy elective decree.

My revelation is all from my Father.
Only the Father knows whom He chooses as 'sons.'
And none has knowledge of the Father
Save he to whom the 'son' is pleased to make Him known.

Again the quotation is exquisitely apt. It is true that in the mind of the poet it is probably Israel who speaks as God's adoptive "son," chosen by an inscrutable decree from among all dwellers in heaven and on earth to be the revealer of His divine purpose. This is a favorite theme of the poets of Israel since Deutero-Isaiah, especially of the "Wisdom" writers. Moreover the "revelation" intended by the words "these things," is obscured by the removal of the lines from their original context. The reference may have been, as in Paul's parallel in I Corinthians, to "the things which God hath prepared for those that love Him." But whatever the derivation or reference, "sonship" in the second strophe of the poem is not made a matter of descent. Israel speaks, but bases its filial claim on acceptance of the divine word. Like the Baptist the poet holds that God is able to raise up children to Abraham out of the very stones. As speaker for this "Israel of God" he thanks the Father for this spiritual "sonship," a mystical relation of inward enlightenment which involves the mission call so eloquently voiced by Deutero-Isaiah. The people that have been, in Paul's language, "entrusted with the oracles of God," are a "light to lighten the Gentiles," they are a "kingdom of priests" who by their knowledge must bring many to righteousness, they must make the Father known.

The theme is so beautifully appropriate to Jesus as Messenger of the divine Wisdom, God's Spirit that pleads with erring men for their redemption, that we might take the lines as actually Jesus' own utterance, were it not for their poetic form (the typical Wisdom quatrain), and the interrupted reference. But even as a quotation it is a key to the Christology of our pre-Markan evangelist, a key of utmost importance. The quotation tells us the meaning to the evangelist's mind of the title "Son of God" which he, like every gospel-writer, sets in the forefront of his presentation. He writes as a teacher for teachers. Jesus embodies for him all the wisdom of the sages, he undertakes the supreme mission of Israel to "reveal the unknown Father."[6]

As we have already observed, the opening scene of Mk. is merely an abbreviated transcription of the story of the Call and Temptation of Jesus from this "Second" Source. These gave the teacher's interpretation of the titles "the Christ," "the Son of God." The subsequent retrospect over Jesus' Galilean ministry, fruitful only among the "babes" of God's choosing, shows what he understands by Fatherhood and Sonship in the sense given them by Jesus. The mission of the "Son" is to fulfil the purpose of God's redemptive "Wisdom." Jesus has a knowledge of the Father that the "wise and understanding" ignore. Like the prophetic fire which burns in the soul of Jeremiah it impels him to seek out and awaken as many as "have ears to hear." In the language of Ignatius it is like an inward spring of living water leaping up and crying "Come to the Father." Mt. continues the poetic quotation by the beautiful invitation of the Wisdom of God taken from the 51st chapter of Ben-Sirach: "Come unto me, all ye that toil and are heavy laden and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart." Paul, who speaks of "the meekness and lowliness of Christ" reveals the animating purpose.[7] Jesus the Son of God, says Paul, sought to be "the firstborn of many brethren."

The group at Antioch which sent forth Barnabas and Saul as their "apostles," consisted of "prophets and teachers." * The Apocalypse of John is our great example of New Testament "prophecy," the Second Synoptic Source exemplifies the work of the "teacher," the Epistle of James characterizes it.

I

You will realize from the contrast in point of view the enormous importance of this supplement of teaching material added by Mt. and Lk. to the geographical and chronological outline of Mk.'s Reminiscences of Peter. Mk. was trying to conserve the apostolic, the typical missionary message. Of course he does not strictly limit himself to the preaching for the conversion of unbelievers as we know it from

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* Acts 13:1.

Paul and Acts, partly because the particular apostle whose witness Mk. is trying to conserve, was to a far greater degree than Paul occupied in his teaching with personal reminiscences of the sayings and doings of the Lord. Still, it is significant that Mk. has so little teaching material. Gospel critics regard it as extraordinary that Mk. should show no acquaintance with discourses like the Sermon on the Mount and that on Prayer. That he did not know them is insupposable. Deliberate omission seems equally insupposable—until one recognizes the difference between the function of the apostle and that of the pastor and teacher.

We have noted that neither Mt. nor Lk. treat the Second Source as comparable in authority to the word of an "eye-witness" or apostle. Neither of them avails himself of it to improve on the notoriously imperfect order of Mk. It obviously is to them what moderns call it, a "teaching" source. The explanation of Mk.'s omissions lies in the fact that the Q material does not go back to apostles, but to church catechists, a group less concerned with the conversion of the heathen than with the discipline of catechumens who chiefly needed to be taught the "righteousness of sons" as Jesus had contrasted it with that of the scribes. They had also to be taught how to pray to "the Father that seeth in secret," and to use earthly possessions aright.

One of the great conservative critics of the past generation, Godet, after attempting like very many others an outline reconstruction of the Second Source, expressed this view of its authorship: "The true author, as we conceive him, was not *an* apostle, but *the* apostolate" (*Intr. Gospels,* 1899, p. 218). If we are to conceive of any kind of collective authorship it should be that not of an "apostolate" but a "pastorate." The Roman Gospel depicts Jesus as he appears to the centurion at the cross. The Syrian catechist depicts him as he appears to Nicodemus. He is the Teacher come from God.

Of the many attempts to analyze Q I shall refer to only one, Harnack's second Study in New Testament Introduction, published in English under the title: *Sayings of Jesus: the Second Source of Matthew and Luke* (1908). My criticism of Harnack's reconstruction, together with most of what I am able thus far to contribute to the problem, will be found in a volume due to appear very soon from Henry Holt and Company, under the title, *Studies in Matthew.* The faults I find with the group of reconstructions of which Harnack's is the best representative, are mainly three: (1) It treats the Q material (a mere dislocated mass of extracts identified as drawn from the source by the fact that they coincide in Mt. and Lk. but are not found in Mk.) as if this were identical with the source itself, which we may designate S. (2) It applies to this Source an utterance of Papias about the Lord's "oracles" (logia) which had reference to a totally different writing, our own canonical Mt. The designation "The Logia" results in a false characterization, as if the Source were a mere agglutination of brief sayings. In reality extracts of considerable length show that S had the form of discourses connected by a slender thread of narrative, like the discourses of Peter in Acts. (3) Harnack is so misled by his needless exclusions, for example of all narrative material which had found a place in Mk. also, and further by his false application of Papias, as to declare that Q was "not a gospel" at all. It began, indeed, like other gospels, with the story of the Baptism of John and Jesus' Vocation and Temptation, it included a few narratives indistinguishable in character from the Markan anecdotes, telling for example of the Healing of the Centurion's Boy, and it made appeal to the "mighty works" in general in a long discourse comparing the ministry of Jesus with John's, and upbraiding the Galilean towns for their rejection of both messengers of God. But we are told by this school of critics that while the story had a beginning it had no ending; while it appealed to the "mighty works" as proof of Jesus' divine calling it related few, if any, of them; while it told of the heavenly tryst made by Jesus with the Twelve at the "covenant supper," it gave no account of either the passion or resurrection; it merely presented Jesus as a heaven-sent Teacher, and then broke off after some disconnected examples of his sayings.

I have given in my forthcoming volume what I hope will serve as disproof of this now dominant view, together with some material from Mt. assignable by aid of Mk. and Lk. to the Second Source. Present limitations forbid, of course, either a presentation of the evidence or reconstruction of the Source. All I can do today is to ask you to consider a few passages from Q, that is, the extracts from S which are acknowledged by all critics and appear as such in Harnack's own very learned and able volume. Even from these undisputed fragments collected by Aramaic-speaking church teachers barely later than the apostolic age, we should be able to form a better conception of the work. The Second Source was no doubt a teacher's gospel, but it was a gospel. It did concentrate on the ministry of teaching and healing in Galilee, but it closed with the pledge of reunion at the Covenant Supper in Jerusalem, reunion at the Passover banquet of the Kingdom of God.

II

I have already pointed out that the Christology of Q (please remember that Q means only that portion of the source which is undisputed) is that of a spokesman of the Wisdom of God. Perhaps it was natural for a body of teachers to define the title "Son of God" in the sense of the great Leader of the Adoption, who (as Jn. says) "have an anointing from the Holy One, so that they know all things and need not that any man should teach them." At all events the Teaching Source presents Jesus as voicing this redeeming Wisdom of God. He appeals also to the seeing eye by "mighty works" of meekness and goodness, for he fulfills the Isaian promise of One that should come to open the blind eyes, restore strength to palsied knees, and proclaim glad tidings of release from bondage and restoration to national life to Israel in its wretchedness. "Meekness and lowliness" are traits of the Wisdom of God which Mt. ascribes to Jesus, though the very terms are unknown to Mk. Yet, as we saw, Paul endorses them. There is similar Pauline endorsement for the opening characterization of "the Son of God" in the Temptation story. Humble submission, obedient trust in God "unto the death of the cross"—these are the traits brought out in that symbolical interpretation of Jesus' call to Sonship which in Q elucidates it by parallels from God's teaching of Israel in the wilderness. The "Son" whom He "called out of Egypt" was taught unquestioning obedience and filial trust, even for daily bread. He was taught not to seek proofs of heavenly guardianship even in the face of death. Sonship was not to mean sitting on the throne of David to receive "the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them." So Q interprets the Call. Mk. knows the story, but dismisses it with the bare statement that Jesus was "driven by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted there by Satan forty days; but he was unharmed by the wild beasts and ministered to by angels." Another of Paul's generation who alludes to the temptation says that Jesus "learned obedience by the things which he suffered." The weight of testimony seems to be on the side of Q and Paul. When Jas. commends as the ideal teacher one who by his good life shows his works "in meekness of wisdom" he has a concrete example in mind.*

Probably there are no two items in the teaching of Jesus whose authenticity would be admitted more widely than the Lord's prayer and the Sermon on the Mount, neither of which appears in Mk. There is further confirmation of the traits of humble obedience and trust in the type of prayer which Jesus employed, and the order of importance it gives to the interests concerned. The Lord's Prayer contains five supplications in two sections: first, that the Father's name may be reverenced, and His sovereignty made universal. Second, that the petitioner may have food for the day, forgiveness, and deliverance from evil. If one may judge a man's heart by his prayer, the kind of "sonship" Jesus taught and lived was not far from the interpretation of sonship given by Q in the Temptation story. At least the Prayer agrees with Jesus' definition of religion: perfect wholeness of devotion to God, in perfect trust.[8]

Mt. expands the Prayer by a couple of explanatory clauses. He expands enormously the Sermon on the Mount. It becomes a receptacle, in this evangelist's scheme of composition, for all the teachings of Jesus needful for the moral and religious guidance of the neophyte. The shorter form of the discourse found in Lk. 6: 20-49 represents better the original. Its subject is the Righteousness of Sons. Jesus is contrasting two rules of life, the first that given by himself to his motley following of poor, hungry, unfortunate and outcast people, who nevertheless dare to believe that it is the Father's good pleasure (inscrutable decree) to give them the kingdom; the second the rule of life which the scribes offer as the condition of obtaining heavenly reward. Jesus has but one rule: Show the spirit and disposition of the Father, be kind without limit, as God is kind "even to the unthankful and evil."

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* Jas. 3: 13.

Sonship, then, is the key to the Catechist's teaching of Jesus, as we should naturally infer from the opening scenes of this earliest source. It is the same which we found indispensable for Mk.'s record of Jesus' career. What other title, then, can we take, whether from the witness of Peter, of Paul, or of any other, as truly descriptive of Jesus, whatever the sense we give it, than "the Son of God"?

But did Jesus really make this daring substitute for the many rules of book-religion? Once more we appeal to Paul. When Paul would sum up genuinely Christian conduct against that which his converts were supposed to have left behind he uses this language: "Let all bitterness and anger be put away from you, with all malice; be kind, tender-hearted, forgiving to one another, even as God also in Christ forgave you. In short be imitators of God as His beloved children, make love your rule of life, just as Christ loved you and devoted himself to death on our account." * Paul seems to agree with Q that "all the Law is fulfilled in this one word." Jesus does not destroy the Law and the prophets, but he thinks a heretical Samaritan who shows mercy to the unfortunate a better interpreter of what God requires than priest or Levite who "pass by on the other side."

It is hardly needful to go further with our illustrations of the enormous difference it would make to our conception of the historical Jesus if we had nothing but Mk.'s presentation of the Strong Son of God, without our Catechist's supplement of the Messenger of the "wisdom which cometh from above." Will you pardon a second reference to our

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* Eph. 4:31–5:2.

only New Testament "Wisdom" writer? The unknown author of the Epistle of Jas. contrasts this wisdom with that of the ambitious and disputatious aspirants of his time to the post of teacher. "The wisdom that cometh from above," says Jas., "is first pure, then peaceable, easy to be entreated." Perhaps, then, the truest portrait we could make of Jesus (as it certainly is the earliest and most authentic) is the implied portrait which Paul draws when justifying a pre-eminent place for the God-given disposition of love. Jas. seems to be thinking of Jesus when he describes the ideal Teacher as unassuming, peaceable, easy to be entreated. Of whom can Paul be thinking when in his immortal lyric of love he suddenly drops comparison and begins description: "Love suffereth long and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not provoked, taketh not account of evil; rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things; love never faileth"?* May we not properly call that Paul's character sketch of Jesus?

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*I Cor. 13: 4-8.

III

Doubtless there will be few to dispute the added traits of character which we supply to the portrait of Jesus from the material of the older, Teaching Source, especially since they appear so strikingly confirmed by Paul. But what can these dislocated fragments of the teaching offer toward a biography? Can they help materially to fill out that confessedly meagre and disjointed outline which Mk. puts together from his Reminiscences of Peter's Discourses?

Ancient and modern biographers have despaired of this, but perhaps more readily than they need. Mt., I admit, has not tried to furnish another outline. He has merely utilized that of Mk. to furnish a framework for his five great discourses, seeking to "teach all men everywhere to obey all things whatsoever Jesus commanded." As regards historical sequence he really makes matters worse by heaping all the "mighty works" together to make a preface for his second Discourse, that of Directions to Evangelists. Lk. aims at history and has rightly omitted Mk.'s supplementary Exile Section in favor of a later, fuller and more historical account of how the barrier of "clean" and "unclean" was broken down and the gospel proclaimed to the Gentiles. But instead of Mk.'s unhistorical journey outside the Holy Land, Lk. constructs another of greater length and almost equal complexity through Samaria and Perea. Frankly I can only place it to the credit and not to the discredit of Q that it knows no more of these alleged journeys of the obscure period of the Exile than the fourth evangelist. Lk.'s "Perean journey" is generally recognized as chiefly an editorial device. The time will come, I believe, when Mk.'s will be recognized to have no larger claim to historicity.[9]

But does it not prove that Q was "not a gospel" if it had no account of the final scenes in Jerusalem, no Passion story nor account of the Resurrection? The question can be more fairly answered when proof is brought that it did not have. Harnack himself includes as the last of the surviving Q fragments the great saying at the Covenant Supper, the Last Supper, in Jerusalem, in which Jesus recalls the splendid ideal of the Psalmist of the Jerusalem that is to be:

Our feet are standing within thy gates, O Jerusalem;
Jerusalem that art builded as a city compact together,
Whither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord

For a testimony to Israel, to give thanks to the name of
the Lord.
For there are set *thrones of judgment,*
The thrones of the house of David.

How can it be contended that Q contained no account of the closing scenes of Jesus' life, no outlook toward the final victory over death, when it echoes that sublime hymn of Passover redemption, and congratulates those who had companied with Jesus in his trials that they will be the instruments of the justice and judgment for which Israel has so long cried out to God? As the helpers of Moses at Jethro's instance brought judgment and justice to the people of God in the wilderness so Jesus promises the Twelve that they shall share with him in the scenes of messianic judgment in the New Jerusalem. Is the saying, then, so foreign to the prophetic symbolism Jesus frequently employs? Is it against the ideal of a kingdom of righteousness given to those who have followed him to the gates of death, that he should inspire them to a death-defying courage like his own? Must we declare the words unauthentic, or reject the two-fold witness which attests their occurrence in the oldest record of all? This is the promise:

> Ye are they that have continued with me in my trials. And I 'covenant' unto you a kingdom as my Father hath 'covenanted' unto me, that ye should eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit upon thrones to judge the twelve tribes of Israel.

Paul seems to have thought the saying authentic when he demands of his Corinthian converts: "Know ye not that we shall judge angels?"

But put aside the question for the nonce whether the Source whence Mt. and Lk. derive their Q fragments contained a Passion story. Mt., I admit, follows, as we should expect, the story of Mk., section by section, without narrative addition save certain late and apocryphal accretions. Lk. has a detailed account which is not Mk.'s; indeed it almost excludes Mk.'s. But of the relation of this Lukan Passion story to the possible closing section of the Second Source we can only say, Some of it may be derived thence, but not the whole. So full and detailed a story would have left larger traces in the Q material. Moreover Lk.'s special source (often designated L) gives evidence of dependence on Mk., whereas the Second Source showed the reverse of this relation. I admit, therefore, further, that we have little left beyond conjecture whereon to rest an opinion as to the nature of the closing scenes as depicted in the Teaching Source. That, however, is not because it lacked this necessary climax to the narrative begun in its scene of the Calling of the Son of God. It is only because the word of the cross belonged more specifically to the preaching of the *apostle* than to the teaching of the *catechist*.[10]

Accounts of the Passion and Resurrection were many. They have covered over the simpler, briefer story of the Teaching Source with their rank abundance, as the shrine-stories of the women's finding of the empty sepulchre have covered over and displaced in Mk. the apostolic Resurrection gospel as Paul tells it to the Corinthians. There was too much already current, and of a different type, for the Catechist's conclusion to survive, save in fragments now hard to retrieve.

It does not follow that we should hold Q of small account for the understanding of Jesus' public career. Fragmentary as this material is, it sheds a beam of light most welcome, most instructive, on the whole significance of that career. This became apparent as we compared its prefatory interpretation of the Calling of the Son of God with Mk.'s meagre extract. No less instructive is its fuller presentation of

Jesus' appeal to the "mighty works." In Mk. we have a series describing the cleansing of the leper, the making of a paralytic to walk, the bringing of glad tidings to the poor at the cost of rejection by Pharisees, misinterpretation by the "disciples of John." * In Mk. Jesus answers by bald miracle. He has authority to forgive sin because he is the Son of Man (the apocalyptic executioner of the divine judgment) on earth. Witness his superhuman miraculous power. The Pharisees charge that his exorcisms are by collusion with Beelzebub. He denounces them as blasphemers "because they said, He hath an unclean spirit." Thus Mk. Look at the same appeal to the "mighty works" as it appears in Q.† Messengers have come from John asking what these mighty works betoken. Jesus bids the envoys report to John what they see and hear, the lepers are cleansed, the lame walk, the poor receive glad tidings of forgiveness and redemption. Let not John be stumbled in the Messenger as so many are. Let him realize that this is the work of God, the beginning of the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy of the redemption, when Jehovah would again visit His repentant people, would restore them to favor as his bride,

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* Mk. 1: 40–2: 22.

† Mt. 11: 2-19; Lk. 7: 18-50.

would bring healing and forgiveness, would himself break the bars of their prison-house and free them from those who hold them captive. When John's envoys have departed Jesus turns to rebuke the multitude which as a whole has turned a deaf ear to his message and a blind eye to the divine tokens whereby God had confirmed it. They have rejected alike the warnings of John and the gentler pleadings of the Wisdom of God. Only the remnant of Wisdom's children have hearkened, but by these "babes" she will be justified.

We found a difference in Mk.'s character-sketch from that of S. Here are two widely different conceptions of Jesus' *career,* particularly with reference to the "mighty works" of healing and deliverance from the tyranny of the "demons," and of the outcome of his Galilean ministry. In Mk. God has sent but one messenger. John, representative of the prophets, is the Elijah who should effect the great repentance and by anointing the Christ make him known to himself and to all Israel. John thus prepares the way *of Jesus.* When he has instituted his baptism of repentance and anointed Jesus as the Christ, John's part is played. We hear no more of him in Mk. save the incidental allusion to his martyrdom which explains Herod's comment on hearing of the "works of the Christ."[11] What, then, is the difference? In Mk. John is the one herald of the Messiah, the prophetic messenger who points to Jesus as the "greater than he" who comes after, and thenceforward disappears from view. In Q there are *two* divine messengers. Both John and Jesus are sent to prepare the way of *Jehovah*. John gives the warning of doom for the unrepentant. Like Jonah's warning to the Ninevites, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed," his cry resounds in the wilderness: "After me cometh a mightier than I whose winnowing fan is in his hand to purge his threshing-floor, to gather the wheat into his garner; but the chaff he will burn up with fire unquenchable." Over against the austere John stands Jesus as the Messenger of the pleading Wisdom of God, that redemptive, loving spirit of the Father, who offers forgiveness, healing, salvation, to the repentant. John has not pointed to him, but to the unsparing "Angel of the Covenant" who purges Israel's sin. John stands in wonderment when he hears of this new Messenger, the Messenger of "glad tidings to the poor."

Most striking of all is the contrast between Mk.'s conception and that of Q when Jesus turns from his praise of John, the messenger of prophecy, to his arraignment of the generation which has proved itself spiritually deaf and blind. Like sulky children who can be pleased with no play they have turned away from the gloomy warnings of the ascetic, and now revolt from the Friend of publicans and sinners, rejecting his invitation to the coming bridal feast. Both evangelists point to the miracles as a rebuke of this unbelief. In Mk. the cleansing of the leper, the making the lame to walk, are proofs of *Jesus'* power. They demonstrate his authority to declare the forgiveness of sins. In Q it is God who has drawn near to heal, to deliver, to save those who have hearkened to the message. It is *Jehovah* who forgiveth Israel's iniquities, who healeth all their diseases. Just because it is *not* Jesus' own power which drives out the demons, but the "finger of God," the charge "He casteth out by Beelzebub" is blasphemy. Blasphemy against a human being is an absurdity in Jewish law. But the scribes have spoken against Him who by stretching forth his hand to heal supports the glad tidings and proves that the promised redemption has already begun. Such is the Q argument. But Mk. omits just this verse. He ignores the vital distinction. He would have it blasphemy to speak against *Jesus*. In Q the parable of the Strong Man Armed still reflects the Isaian original. It is Jesus' demonstration that God Himself has begun to intervene, breaking the dominion of Satan. "Thus saith the Lord Jehovah: Shall the prey be taken from the Mighty Man, or the captives of the Terrible One be delivered? But thus saith Jehovah, Even the captives of the Mighty Man shall be taken away and the prey of the Terrible shall be delivered: for I Myself will contend with him that contendeth with thee, and I will save thy children."* But in Mk. (unless all our commentators are wrong) *Jesus* is the Stronger than the Strong Man Armed who holds Israel in bondage. Jesus' exorcisms are proof of a power *resident in himself*.[12]

The Q conception of Jesus as the second divine Messenger, the herald of the redeeming, healing and saving Wisdom of God, is widely different from that of Mk., whether we consider the "glad tidings" of the divine sovereignty already at work for the deliverance of the penitent and trustful "little ones," or the person of the Messenger. It is hardly needful to say which is the more authentic. Even without the many evidences of Mk.'s occasional dependence on the Second Source the recognition of the independent significance of the great work of the Baptist, and the appreciation of it placed in the mouth of Jesus, are ample proof of the priority of Q.

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*Is. 49:24 f.

IV

The upbraiding of the cities of Galilee that repented not furnishes to the enquirer for the contents of Q an invaluable retrospect. We learn from it and the antecedent comparison of the Mission of God's two messengers both the nature of Jesus' gospel of the kingdom (a kingdom of God not merely imminent but also immanent), and the character and source of the "mighty works" as our primitive catechist conceived them. They supplied divine authority and confirmation because they were regarded as tokens of divine approval. God confirmed the message by "stretching forth his hand to heal."

Unfortunately we cannot be sure that either of the two parallel accounts of the close of this Galilean ministry, when on the lake-shore Jesus took leave of a great gathering of his followers after making them his guests at a parting repast (the so-called Miracle of the Loaves) belongs to the Second Source. The criterion of Q disappears, because the material occurs in Mk. as well as in Mt. and Lk. In fact the story appears once in Lk. and Jn. and twice in Mk. and Mt. By definition this of course excludes either version from Q, but simply leaves open the question whether Mk. has not derived one of the two forms from S. Since we are limiting ourselves to Q, all that need be said is that some such conclusion of the Galilean ministry might naturally be expected in the Teaching Source, and that the obvious anticipation of the themes of the Lord's Supper in the symbolism of the story of the Loaves is no more than would be natural in a writing which if not derived from the Galilean community at least embodies almost its whole record of the Lord's teaching within the limits of the Galilean ministry.[13]

It cannot, however, be inferred from the paucity of material assignable to Q in the Judean Ministry that the great climax of all Christian teaching, the story of the Passion and Resurrection, failed to appear in S. Reasons have already been given for holding that however much obscured by superposition of other accounts regarded as having more apostolic authority, the Teaching Source also related the issue of the career which it had introduced in the scene of Jesus' calling as "Son of God."

The Teaching Source did *not* close with the parting scene in Galilee. Of that we have convincing evidence in the few fragments that remain, whose scene can only be Jerusalem. On the other hand the very fact that this was a *Teaching* Source, whose record of the utterances of Jesus was connected by but the slenderest thread of narrative, makes it unreasonable to imagine more than a brief mention of the appeal to all Israel at the Passover in the temple, with transitory acclamation by the multitude as the Christ, the Son of David. Whatever of historic truth survives in the sections of Mk. and Lk. telling of journeyings in Exile, or in Samaria and Perea, rests on a Petrine foundation, not on the record of the teachings collected (we may suppose) by Galilean disciples from those who were with Jesus in Galilee. We could not expect in S a narrative like Mk.'s, nor even a Passion and Resurrection story such as that which Lk. has relied upon, for Luke's special source is itself dependent on Petrine tradition. A Teaching Source must have based its parting discourse to the Twelve in the upper room at Jerusalem on a scene described with utmost brevity, such as those which preface the Galilean discourses.

Doubtless we come nearest to it in the scene described by Lk. from his unknown source (L), which makes the quarrel of the Twelve as to Who should be Greatest an introduction to Jesus' teaching as to the nature of the kingdom, the principle of Greatness through Service. It contained, no doubt, the brief reference to Jesus' desire to celebrate with the Twelve the coming Redemption Feast, and lifted the festal symbolism to that of the heavenly banquet at which Jesus would meet them again.[14]

Paul's record of that final Love-feast in the close circle of those that had loyally followed Jesus in his trials is so vastly superior both in meaning and authority to any other, that we can scarcely regret the eclipse of one which would of necessity be based on indirect report; for the author of the Teaching Source was not numbered among the Twelve.

In S the great saying in which Jesus "covenanted" to the Twelve the kingdom which his Father had "covenanted" to him, was given in the act of devoting his body and his blood for the ideal. It is Jesus' final pledge of an indomitable faith. In the

New Jerusalem of the greater Redemption Feast he and they would have a place together in giving judgment to Israel through the "thrones of the house of David." Is it fanciful to find an echo of that pledge in the ancient eucharistic hymn quoted as a "faithful saying" in the Epistle which we call the Second of Paul to Timothy:

> If we die with him we shall also live with him:
> If we endure, we shall also reign with him:
> If we deny him, he also will deny us:
> If we are faithless, he abideth faithful:
> For he cannot deny himself.*

So the witness of What the Eye Saw is deepened and enlarged by What the Ear Heard; but both together do not wholly efface the impression made on those that passed by at Golgotha, beating their breasts as they looked at the drooping figure that hung from the central cross, and crying, Alas! Alas! Another patriot life sacrificed for "the Kingdom of our father David!" We must look beyond the cross for what "entered into the heart of man to conceive."[15]

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* II Tim. 2: 11-13.

Lecture IV

WHAT ENTERED INTO THE HEART OF MAN

WHAT ENTERED INTO THE HEART OF MAN

One of the strangest phenomena which taxes the ingenuity of the Gospel critic is the breaking off of our primary record of the Witness of Peter without the narration of that which chiefly gave significance to it, an event attested by Paul himself as the very foundation stone of the resurrection faith. It is simply insupposable that the account of Peter's "turning again and establishing his brethren," recorded by Paul, twice referred to in Lk., begun only to be broken off in *The Gospel according to Peter,* and even anticipated in Mk. itself, should have been unknown when Mark's "Reminiscences of Peter" were collected. Even if we imagine, as many do, some accident to the evangelist, or to the first copy of his book, it was perfectly easy to fill out the blank at the end if there had been no objection to the material. For if there was any part of Peter's witness which every Christian knew it was this.

I have offered the following as a possible solution of the riddle.* A rearrangement of "Peter's Witness" took place when Lk. divided the tradition into a first part, containing "the things which Jesus began to do and to teach" recorded in his "former treatise," and a second, containing the things accomplished by the risen Christ through his apostles. Both in his Passion story and in the first half of Acts Lk. employs a record of Peter's activities. It is not Mk.'s, but an enlarged edition of the story of Peter. Among other "improvements" on Mk. Lk.'s version of the story omits the desertion of Jesus by the Twelve in Gethsemane and their flight to Galilee. According to Lk. Peter and the rest of the Twelve stand loyally by in Jerusalem, receive the message of the women about the empty tomb, and are later rallied by Jesus himself, who gives them their apostolic commission. The Church in Jerusalem then moves steadily forward, conquering and to conquer.

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* See my *Gospel of Mk.,* pp. 187-203.

This "improved version" of the story of Peter, whether in pre-Lukan or Lukan form, so completely eclipsed the earlier one that nothing remains of the turning again of Peter save the allusions I cited. My explanation of the disappearance of the original ending of Mk. was that it has shared the fate of those "Acts of Peter" of which we know only by early report under various titles, obscured by the greater glory of Lukan improvement. Mk.'s original ending gave the whole witness of Peter down to the acceptance by the Church of his mission to the Gentiles which we read of in the secondary form in Acts 9:32–11:18, but the *unimproved* form disappeared because it could not be reconciled with the Lukan. The endings of Mk. which we now have are two of them certainly late makeshifts, the third (the present story of the Women at the Sepulchre, Mk. 15:40–16:8) may belong to the original Gospel, but certainly cannot be reckoned to the Witness of Peter. Mk. thus remained divided at the point where Acts begins. Two ill-fitting Endings were tacked on in later Mss. in 16:9-12 and the so-called Shorter Ending. The former is based on Lukan and Johannine sources, the latter on Mt.

I bring up here this attempt to explain the disappearance of the original climax of Peter's Witness because it serves to illustrate the tremendous gap which has to be bridged between the story of Jesus "In the Days of his Flesh" and the story of the glorified Lord whose Church was founded upon the returning faith of Peter. What we have considered hitherto has been merely the story of Galilee with its crown of martyrdom at Golgotha. Of course even the days of Jesus' flesh are shot through with gleams cast backward from the resurrection glory. As we saw, the symbolism of prophetic vision and voice from heaven is twice employed, once to interpret the baptismal Call which prompted Jesus to his mission of redemption, and again to interpret to his dazed followers the meaning of a Redeemer crucified. But these are momentary foregleams. The story of what Eye Saw and What Ear Heard is still a record of "the Days of his Flesh." When Peter recalls it to the crowd gathered by the healing of the lame man at the Gate Beautiful of the temple it is still just a fulfilment of the promise to Moses: "A prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you from among your brethren, like unto me." Peter tells them now that Jesus whom they have martyred has been "taken up." He will soon be sent back by God from heaven as the expected Christ. This is Synoptic Christology. Jesus, whose career began on earth returns to earth to complete it. Meantime, like Elijah and Moses, he has been "glorified" and awaits with them in "Paradise" the day of Israel's visitation. Of course there have been many attempts to restore the original story of Peter's vision of his glorified Master. All we can say of these is that the nearer they approach to Paul's references "He appeared first to Peter . . . lastly to me." "He that energized in Peter energized also in me," the better their chance of reflecting the truth.[1]

With Paul it is not the stay in heaven but the stay on earth which is the interlude. Jesus was not merely foreordained of God to his mission, and glorified after it, he was originally "the Lord from heaven." His brief mission of obedience and martyrdom, now soon to be followed by reappearance to universal judgment, is a mere moment of time compared with the eternal riches of glory of which he emptied himself for our sakes. He has now resumed that glory and with it will endow the elect, that they may become joint-heirs with him of "the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him." This was God's purpose when He created Adam. He "wrought us for this very thing."

In Synoptic story, even in its highest Christological development, we never get beyond an apotheosis doctrine. We do not even reach it; for Jesus is never thought of as a *deified* man but only as a *glorified* man. In Paul and the fourth Gospel we never get away from an Incarnation doctrine. The Christ who meets us there is a "Second Adam," an eternal Spirit from the Father clothed with flesh for the part he must play as Redeemer. He was sent forth to gather a world-wide "Israel of God," but now has returned to a glorified form, a "spiritual body" wherewith we also must be clothed upon because "flesh and blood can not inherit the Kingdom of God."

How account for this extraordinary difference between the Synoptics, which tell the story of the "prophet like unto Moses," and the fourth Gospel, which depicts the incarnate Word?

Let it first of all be acknowledged that the attempt is hopeless to account for it by rectilinear development, as though mere lapse of time and legendary accretion could explain the difference. In the first place there *is* no great lapse of time between the writings. The fourth Gospel is perhaps a decade later than Mt. and Lk. What does that amount to as an explanation of the difference in Christology? Again the Johannine Incarnation doctrine is not late. We find it already in Paul thirty years before our earliest Synoptic Gospel was composed. The difference is of two separate *kinds* of gospel, not of greater or less development of one kind. The fourth Gospel is of the kind that goes back to the "spiritual" Christ of Paul, who even if he had known an earthly

Christ would know such a Christ no more. The Synoptic tradition in all its forms goes back to Peter, who though he also had seen the vision of the glorified One from Paradise, made it his mission to bear witness of what he had seen and heard of "the sayings and doings of the Lord" in Galilee. At least that is the portion of Peter's witness which the Church remembered. It forgot his witness to the risen Christ.

I

Of course the line of cleavage, tremendous as it is, between the gospels of apostle and catechist on the one side and that of "the theologian" on the other, is not altogether hard and fast. Even Jn. is after all a "gospel." It shares with some other Hellenistic faiths their incarnation doctrine, but *not* their docetism. It does tell of Jesus' teaching and mighty works in Galilee and Jerusalem—mostly in Jerusalem. It does follow the broad outline of Mk.: after "the Witness of John" a year in Galilee closed by the Miracle of the Loaves; a second year in Judea closed by the martyrdom in Jerusalem. Jn. even assumes the reader's acquaintance with Synoptic story. He is supposed to know its leading characters. "Have not I chosen you the Twelve?"

Andrew is "Simon Peter's brother." Thomas needs no introduction. Mary of Bethany is "that Mary which anointed the Lord." Jn. sublimates. Conversely Synoptic story has its prophetic interpretations by vision and heavenly voice, as we have seen. But Jn. does not greatly concern himself with the witness of Peter. Andrew, not Peter, makes the great confession. Nathaniel, a figure elsewhere unknown, receives the chief revelation at the disciples' Call. The enigmatic "disciple whom Jesus loved" is the first to accept the resurrection faith.

The geographical staging of Jn. is very peculiar. The only one of Mk.'s sayings and doings of the Lord in Galilee which this evangelist takes over is the farewell scene already spoken of, the basis of the institution of the Love-feast. In Jn. it becomes that of the Lord's Supper also. Thus one of Mk.'s two accounts of the Miracle of the Loaves is adopted and greatly expanded. But that is all. Galilee is the scene of *one* story of healing, not from Mk. but from Q, the story of the Nobleman's Son. The reader can scarcely say there is a Galilean ministry in the fourth Gospel.

Jn. has an elaborate Epiphany, or manifestation of the glory of the Christ to his disciples at Cana of

Galilee, but it begins in "Bethany beyond Jordan" and is utterly foreign to and inconsistent with Peter's account of the calling of the fishermen and "beginning of miracles" at Capernaum. Samaria, Perea, and Jerusalem, most of all Jerusalem, whose five great feasts are regularly attended by Jesus and made the scene of his great "signs" with accompanying discourses,—these are the chief scenes of Jesus' public ministry. Galilee's principal part is to be left behind. Peter is almost lost behind a hitherto unknown "witness."

For no less peculiar than this Gospel's geography is its *dramatis personæ*. The Baptist (always spoken of as "John") advances still further to the front than in Q. But the parts are reversed. Jesus does not bear witness to John. Indeed the evangelist takes extreme pains to deprecate an exaggerated reverence for the Baptist. John himself is not the Christ—not Elias. He disavows any other significance for his coming and his purifying rite save only to point to Jesus. This is the Lamb of God, who does take away sin and by his baptism convey the Holy Spirit. John positively denies that his own baptism has either effect. Its sole aim is to make Jesus known as the Christ.

Four disciples are called by Jesus, not in Capernaum but long before, at the baptism of John. But they are not the Synoptic four. Andrew is there, taking marked precedence of his brother, Peter. But the other two are not the two sons of Zebedee; James and John are never mentioned. Some think this is a veiling of the evangelist's identity from modesty. But why need John be so modest about James, the first martyr of the Twelve?

After bringing his brother Peter to Jesus Andrew finds a fellow-townsman, Philip of Bethsaida. Philip brings the unknown Nathaniel, to whom Jesus reveals his highest function, that of Son of Man. This Son of Man is not the apocalyptic figure of the Synoptics. The Johannine Son of Man fulfils the ideal of Israel, who (in Philo's interpretation) is the "seer" of God, so-called because he "sees" in vision the angels of God ascending and descending upon him. Jesus is this mediatorial Son of Man, whose abode is in heaven, whither he is to be "lifted up." Nathaniel is the "Israelite indeed" to whom Jesus reveals himself as Son of Man at the Call of the Four. Thomas, at the close of the Gospel, will recognize him as also his Lord and God.

Three other "disciples" of Jesus, Judas Iscariot, Thomas "called Didymus," Judas "not Iscariot" appear later on incidentally. Another called "the disciple whom Jesus loved" appears only in the last scenes at Jerusalem.

Such is the central group. An Appendix attached after the true ending of the Gospel at 20:31 makes certain compensations. It supplies a form of the Galilean tradition of the Resurrection (the Gospel knows none but the Jerusalem form), adjusting the parts so that Peter is reinstated as chief undershepherd of the flock with the promise that ultimately he shall atone for his desertion and denial by (red) martyrdom; while the disciple that Jesus loved is to bear witness in a prolonged "white" martyrdom. The Appendix also brings in the neglected two "sons of Zebedee" with a veiled suggestion that the mysterious "beloved disciple," who is said to have transmitted the "witness" embodied in the work, may have been the survivor of the pair, in other words the Apostle John. The assertion is hard to reconcile with the rest of the Gospel's *dramatis personæ.* The material thus edited does not suggest familiarity with, or regard for the group at Jerusalem of which John was a salient figure. We have seen the evangelist's attitude toward Peter and the sons of Zebedee. The kindred of the Lord were, as we know, next in importance to these at Jerusalem. In some respects they were superior. What is the attitude of the fourth Gospel toward them? It mentions Jesus' mother but does not tell her name. She is introduced as receiving at the Miracle at Cana a rebuke (none too gentle in form) as moving in a different circle of ideas from her Son. At the cross she is consigned to the keeping of the "beloved Disciple." The brothers of Jesus are also mentioned—once. We learn that they had no faith in Jesus. They suggested that if his miracles were what he claimed he should display them in Jerusalem. Nothing appears of a later change of mind. This is extraordinary treatment for the pillar-apostle John to bestow on his own brother, James the martyred apostle, and James the Lord's brother. The Appendix would identify the beloved disciple with that pillar of the Church, to whom Paul went up with Barnabas in 46-47 A.D. to submit to him along with Peter and James the question of imposing circumcision on Gentile converts. John's attitude toward the men "of repute" in Jerusalem as well as toward Paul, must have greatly changed! Other secondary figures of the *dramatis personæ* of Jn., Nicodemus, the Samaritan woman, Lazarus and his two sisters, Mary and Martha, Caiaphas, the Greeks who worship at the Passover, are either unknown to the Synoptic record or play wholly unexpected parts.

The teaching of Jesus as reported in Jn. is equally unfamiliar. His subject is no longer "the kingdom of God." The term itself appears only once, in a passage which seems to be superimposed to justify the disregard of temple and Law, a disregard which characterized the preaching of Hellenists such as Stephen and Paul, I mean the Purging of the Temple and Dialogue with Nicodemus. These two paragraphs together with a recapitulation in 3:31-36, interrupt the connection of the "epiphany" at the Baptism of John with the Samaritan Ministry in 3:32–4:42. In the Dialogue with Nicodemus Jesus proclaims the doctrine of Regeneration in the saying "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." This demand for a higher baptism than John's takes the place of the Sermon on the Mount. It is followed by an equally brief summary of Paul's "word of the cross." Jesus was sent into the world by the redeeming love of God to suffer the cross, that so "every one that believeth may in him have eternal life." Unbelievers are already under "the wrath of God."[2]

Publicans and sinners do not exist for this evangelist. There is no preaching of repentance, no gathering of the lost sheep, no parables, only allegories of Jesus' person. Jesus preaches the incarnation in himself of the eternal Word of God. To know God and the Messenger God has sent is eternal life. Hence the great discourses centre upon seven "I am's."

I am not depreciating this truly great Gospel. I am trying to make you appreciate wherein its greatness lies, as you surely will fail to do if you smooth out all the differences between it and the Synoptics after the manner of the harmonists, and cannot tell whether the Miracle of Cana belongs in Jn. or in Mk., nor whether the discourses in the upper room were part of the Woes on Jerusalem and the Synoptic apocalypse, or whether they displace them. Lest you should think I exaggerate this difference I will quote a recent article which deprecates the efforts of critics to separate between substratum and redaction. This critic marvels first at the vocabulary. He deems it extraordinary that any writer should set himself to report the gospel as it had found expression in the work and word of Jesus, and should nowhere use the words pity, mercy, compassion, nor suggest the quality; nowhere bring in the poor (only 12:5 f); nowhere a publican, a sinner, a widow, a child, a scribe, a Sadducee; nowhere mention any of the Herods or Gentiles; no Tyre or Sidon, no Mount of Olives; no unclean demoniacs or reference to their cleansing; no repentance and no forgiveness of sin, neither the words nor the ideas; no *prayer* or praying (*erotao and aiteo* occur), no *gospel,* no *preaching,* no *apostle* (the word in 13:16 is in another sense); no faith, no hope, no wisdom, no *parable,* and, most amazingly, no Kingdom of God (3:3-5 being the one exception).

One can explain, perhaps explain away, a good deal of this peculiarity of vocabulary, and still remain astonished at the frame of mind evinced by the remainder.

Our critic marvels too at the extraordinary disarrangements of material. One of these is the curious interruption I have just referred to, by which after the epiphany in Cana, but "before John was shut up in prison" Jesus makes the journey from Capernaum to Jerusalem, purges the temple and holds his discourse with Nicodemus, then, proceeding from Jerusalem (!) "into the land of Judea" holds a ministry of baptism side by side with John until, hearing that "the Pharisees had heard that he was making and baptizing more disciples than John, he left Judea and departed again into Galilee." Other apparent displacements no less extraordinary have been noted in the second century, in the sixteenth, and recently in the nineteenth and twentieth. A brief summary of them will be found in the article from which I have quoted. Prof. C. R. Bowen of Meadville writes it in *The Anglican Theological Review* for January, 1930 (XII, 3), deprecating at the same time critical attempts to unravel the mystery of their origin.[3] Very likely some of my present hearers are equally weary of this minute inspection of the Gospel and wish that such books as *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate* had never been written. Remember, however, that such meticulous study is not bestowed on writings of transient value. As regards the treatise just cited by title I can assure you that it was written for no other purpose than to obtain for the fourth Gospel that appreciation which it cannot possibly have until we replace mere ancient legend about its origin with some consistent understanding of its purpose and environment.

II

The introductory lecture of this series stated briefly the difference in character between this Gospel of the Theologian and the preceding gospels of the Apostle and the Catechist. We might almost say that the recognition of this difference marks an epoch in the history of the writing of Lives of Christ. Since the great defenders of the traditional authorship gave up the struggle, acknowledging with Sanday, their foremost representative, that the attempt to use it as in any sense a record either of what the Eye Saw or the Ear Heard during Jesus' earthly career, was a mistake (*Divine Overruling,* p. 61), the biographers who are more concerned with "the word of God" than the defense of the "tradition" either limit themselves, like J. M. Thompson in his *Jesus according to St. Mark* (1910), to the Synoptic record, or, if they use the fourth Gospel at all, are content to see in it a depiction of the eternal and spiritual Christ of Pauline faith, and draw from it the conception of the Redeemer sent from God as it "entered into the heart of man."

My original statement of the fourth evangelist's purpose was, "Not so much to tell what Jesus *did* say as what he *would have said* had he lived to oppose the falsehoods of the Church's foes at the end of the first century." From the Epistles composed by the same writer we can see what those enemies were: Judaism on the one side, Greek and Gnostic syncretism on the other. To him the historical reality of the Church's witness to God in Christ is vitally important. True, he could and did use the literary form of the epistle, after Paul's example, to combat the heresies about him; but he chooses that of a gospel in which to embody his interpretation of the significance of Jesus' life and teaching because Jesus means infinitely more to him than even Paul, and because he would anchor the faith of the Pauline churches to the Word which was made flesh and dwelt among us.[4]

Had he then, the means or the motive for adding really historical material to the "witness of Peter"? Critical judgment forbids our placing this selection from the later mass of religious legend which the evangelist himself declares had gathered about the name of Jesus, on a level with the sayings and doings of the Lord reported, even at second hand, from the lips of Peter. Our evangelist is not even attempting to tell of the life that was lived in Galilee, but of "the life, the eternal life, which was with the

Father and was manifested unto us." Nevertheless the fact that it was "manifested," so that the story could be transmitted as something "which we have seen with our eyes, which we beheld and our hands handled," is his cardinal stronghold against the phantasmal theories of those who "denied that Christ cometh in the flesh." Admittedly he is making a choice, a preacher's choice, among the wonders he relates, with the avowed purpose of convincing the reader of his own doctrinal belief. But we must beware of over-stressing the freedom allowed in his time to fiction and allegory.[5] Widely as they were used in our evangelist's time he is fighting desperately against the abuses they entail. We cannot expect him to be gifted with historico-critical discrimination, nor indeed to be greatly interested in criticism, but we may be sure that what he relates as fact on the testimony of "the beloved disciple" is *to him* historic fact. He assures the reader that he and his associates who edit the record "know that the witness is true." To be sure, he is speaking of doctrinal rather than historical truth; but his ringing words of denunciation against certain "liars" and "deceivers" forbid us to imagine that he is consciously inventing or romancing. The "liars and deceivers" are docetic heretics who are dissipating away the message of a Christ "come in the flesh," a Christ really born, really suffering, really rising again from the dead.

How then account for such discourses on themes inconceivable in the situation of the historical Jesus as the dialogues with Nicodemus or the Samaritan woman? How account for such wonder-tales as the raising of Lazarus, which one of the greatest defenders of the Johannine authorship does not hesitate to pronounce "fiction"? The dialogues represent, as I have said, what Jesus "would have said" rather than what he did say. They would be so regarded by those who listened to them when uttered (as I believe they were uttered) from a Christian pulpit of the days of strife at Ephesus. The preacher could not be supposed to know, seventy years after, precisely what Jesus did say, but it was the habit of the time to use the form of dialogue as Plato had used it for the discourses of Socrates, to set forth the inner sense of the teaching. Even today we have Lives of Christ of this type also; witness Khalil Gibran's *Jesus the Son of Man,* 1929.[6]

The seven selected "mighty works," beginning with the symbolic wedding scene at Cana, ending with the equally symbolic scene of the raising of Lazarus at Bethany, are to the evangelist "signs." That is his uniform designation. He informs the reader that the wonders told are a selection from the mass of current report and that they are chosen not with historico-critical distinctions in view, but for religious edification. They are *illustrations* of the teaching. Thus the discourses exemplify the debates of the post-apostolic age, the illustrations exemplify the tales then in circulation. Only an untenable tradition prevents the reader of the twentieth century from using sufficient historical imagination to put himself in the situation of a hearer of the Ephesian preacher. His posthumous editors identify him with the mysterious "disciple whom Jesus loved." What this means and how much of real knowledge it implies is problematical. We already know, to be sure, that it is no such plain tale as the witness of Peter. But why wish it so? Why not be thankful for another gospel of different type from the Synoptic, instead of trying to force all into the same mould? [7]

With all this necessary concession to historical criticism, a concession which does no more than reflect the attitude of the leading recent representatives of truly conservative scholarship, such as Stanton, Sanday and Garvie, it is quite possible to overdo our skepticism. It is especially easy for critics who continue to cherish an exaggerated idea of the closeness of Mk. to the witness of Peter. I have shown already that the fourth evangelist is anchoring down to historic fact, as he understands it. There are features of Jn. already hinted at, which suggest not only an extraordinary independence of Petrine story, and even an unsympathetic attitude toward its scenes, its personages and its doctrine, but which indicate at several points a real historical superiority. The better dating of the crucifixion is one famous instance. The dating of Jesus' birth as coincident with the rebuilding of the temple (begun in 18 B.C.) and the division of his career into two periods of a year each is another.[8] The chronology is here adapted to an artificial scheme, it is true, but in substance it calls for serious critical attention. The disappearance of the Exile section of Mk. and the Perean-Samaritan journey of Lk. in favor of a six-months period of retirement to the southward I have said already strikes me as more to the credit than the discredit of the later Gospel. Before all else we should take careful note of the preliminary section in which Jn. draws out his comparison of "the witness of John" with the calling and work of Jesus. I have referred to it as divided into two parts by the proleptic insertion of the Purging of the Temple and Dialogue with Nicodemus. We may take the pre-Galilean ministry (omitting the insertion) as an example of the possible foundation of fact in Johannine tradition.

I have already called your attention to Jn.'s story of the Witness of the Baptist beyond Jordan and the Epiphany to the Four Disciples, which closes with the Miracle at Cana when Jesus "manifested his glory and his disciples believed on him." This comparison of "the Witness of John" with that of Jesus continues (apart from the interruption stated) in an account which begins: "After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judea; and there he tarried with them and baptized." It proceeds to relate a Samaritan ministry of Jesus with John in close proximity. John was continuing his work begun in "Bethany beyond Jordan" at Ænon near Salim, close to Sychar in Samaria. Jesus, withdrawing from Judea on purpose to avoid apparent rivalry with John, is drawn into a great though brief ministry there. John withdraws from the scene in favor of the Greater than he, leaving the white and fertile field to Jesus, who on his part, reveals himself as the Christ, the Savior of the world, and thence returns to Cana of Galilee. John is heard of no more in this Gospel.[9]

In an article entitled "History and Dogma in John" in the October number of *The Hibbert Journal* (XXVIII, 1) I have suggested that the reason why we find this Samaritan ministry prefixed to the story of Jesus' preaching in Galilee is similar to that which leads to the prefixing in Lk. of two chapters mainly concerned with an extensive comparison of Jesus and John. The principal difference of motive is that whereas Lk. considers only the rivalry of "the disciples of John" the fourth evangelist opposes the great Samaritan heresy of Gnosticism, whose chief representatives were Simon of Gitta (in Samaria), and later Menander of Capparatea (also in Samaria), both founders of baptizing sects. In the view of all the Church fathers the Gnostics derived their practice and teaching from John the Baptist, the Samaritans Dositheus and Simon misapplying to themselves the Baptist's prediction of a "Greater than he" to come after. In the judgment of the fathers Simon's Logos-, or Incarnation-, doctrine was self-deifying. Our fourth evangelist is a contemporary of these false claimants to be the incarnate Word of God. The ancient belief that his Gospel was meant to refute them is borne out by his Epistles. But his Gospel attacks the tap-root. He takes extreme pains to show what "the witness of John" had really been, and that only the baptism of the Spirit, which the Church derives from Jesus its Lord, really conveys forgiveness of sin and immortality. In the article referred to you may find, if you wish, some of the reasons for this view, along with a number of other instances throughout the fourth Gospel of its application of evangelic tradition to contemporary controversy. Should you wish to go further still in this endeavor to differentiate between "history and dogma in John," as I conceive it, a volume to appear within a year or so under the title "The Hellenistic Gospel" will give all that I feel able to give in this direction. You will encounter there the symbol R, which my good friend Professor Bowen so deprecates, because analysis is not possible without classification, and classification requires the use of such symbols. We may get beyond them, but when we do let us remember gratefully the service rendered.[10]

I have referred in my introductory lecture to the designation of Jn. as "the Hellenistic Gospel." I pointed out to you that its Pauline doctrine of new birth from the Spirit and eternal life by faith in the word of the cross, interjected in 2: 12–3: 21 into "the witness of John," is in line not so much with Peter's story of the sayings and doings of Jesus in Galilee as with the "Christ according to the Spirit" of Paul, and Philip and Stephen. Attachment to the temple and Law did not bind these earliest missionaries and martyrs, nor did they feel themselves under control of the Twelve, who remained unmolested in Jerusalem for another decade. The Hellenists, dispersed by persecution, went out with their free gospel north and south and east and west. I have pointed out also how our Ephesian evangelist writes from the region where, after Paul, Philip the evangelist of Cæsarea, once an opponent of Simon in Samaria, took up the good cause, repelling the grievous wolves of heresy that threatened to destroy the flock. Our Ephesian evangelist looks back beyond Paul, beyond Philip, to a gospel tradition, which however late, however marked by evidences of struggle against Gnostic heresy, bears also in its body the marks of the Lord Jesus. His posthumous editors think he has his facts from "the disciple whom Jesus loved," whoever that may be. As respects historicity let the statement of a few personal *dis*beliefs take the place of analysis and argument, which can only be given in technical discussion. I do *not* believe that such figures as Nathaniel of Cana in Galilee are fictitious. I do *not* believe that such scenes as the broad plain beneath Mount Gerizim and Jacob's well near Shechem and Sychar could be depicted without a transmitted interest if not an actual visitation on the part of the "beloved disciple." I do *not* believe that such additions could be made to the story of Jesus' career as the prefixed Samaritan ministry, without a real and independent gospel tradition derived through Hellenistic missionaries who, like Andronicus and Junias, were "in the gospel" before Paul.[11] Hymns like Phil. 2: 6-11 show the type of Hellenistic gospel.

The element of historical fact which critical analysis may be able to sift out from a half-century's accumulation of use in preaching, teaching and apologetic may not be great, but its value will be all the greater from its bold independence. Nay, when we have learned to value aright even that which is only secondary, the reflected light of post-apostolic story will also tell us much. It will bear eloquent witness to the struggle of the Church against an engulfing flood of theosophic "philosophy and vain deceit." It will exemplify the triumph of the historic faith in one of its darkest hours.

III

What, then, does the fourth Gospel contribute to the biography of Jesus? Relatively little if you use the term in its ordinary sense. But we are dealing with Gospels, and Gospels are not biographies. Mk. is nearest that, and Thompson and Lowry do well to limit themselves, if biography in that sense is their object, to the biography of Mk. But even Mk. is not a biography in the ordinary sense. It does not attempt to cover much more than a single year of Jesus' life. None of our evangelists understands biography in the ordinary sense of the term. They understand it only in a very extraordinary sense. They would not have attempted it at all but for what they believed to be a life to which the days of Jesus' flesh were the merest prelude and preparation. Wordsworth thinks of the personality in each one of us as reaching back into an eternity behind, not all of which is forgotten.

Not in entire forgetfulness, and not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From heaven which is our home.

So Synoptic tradition, as I have intimated, is all suffused with the glory of the Transfiguration. Its central figure is seen only amid "trailing clouds of glory" streaming from the Paradise whence the risen Lord is soon to come. How much more has "biography" gained a new sense in that Gospel whose object is to depict "the life which is the light of men," "the life, the eternal life, which was with the Father and was manifested in Jesus"!

Rufus Jones, in his deeply religious book, *The Double Search: Studies in Atonement and Prayer,* reminds us that the study of life in the largest sense cannot content itself with merely that phase of personality which in Walt Whitman's figure stands spider-like on the brink of a measureless abyss casting out filaments that it weaves from its own substance till, catching somewhere in the void, the gossamer becomes a bridge on which to venture forth. Personality that does not feel this instinctive reaching out to the beyond is less than human. At least it knows not life in the cosmic sense that has prompted the Quest of the Ages. So with "the life, the eternal life, which was with the Father and was manifested to us," so that our eyes saw it and our hands could handle it as a living Word. It is in that sense that our fourth evangelist understands biography. Says John Baillie in his recent book, *The Place of Jesus Christ in Modern Christianity:*

> The spiritual history of our race may, and indeed must, be regarded from two different points of view. On the one side it is the history of man's search for God—a long and arduous quest on the part of the human heart, with much groping and much dark wandering and much missing of the trail, to find Him who alone is heart's ease and heart's desire. But on the other side it is the history, not of man seeking God, but of God seeking man . . .—the Hound of Heaven following after us
>
> "... with unhurrying chase,
> And unperturbed pace,
> Deliberate speed, majestic instancy."

It is from this "other side" that the fourth evangelist confronts his task. If in Synoptic story the central figure is suffused with "trailing clouds of glory" from the Paradise to be, in Jn. it is enveloped in a glory which he had with the Father before the foundation of the world. To Jn. as to Paul, the cross is a witness to the redeeming love of God, who gave His only-begotten Son for our salvation. In

Synoptic teaching men are redeemed not *by* the cross but in spite of it. It is looking at the other aspect of the "Double Search" when with Paul and Jn. redemption is viewed as the work of "God *in* Christ." In his sublime Prologue on the Incarnate Logos of God, tabernacling for a time among us as the visible glory of God tabernacled in the midst of Israel on its journey to the land of promise, our evangelist lays down this theme as his all-controlling purpose. From the Call of the first disciples, when Nathaniel as their representative receives the promise of a revelation of the Son of Man, the *mediatorial* Son of Man on whom the angels of God ascend and descend, down to the closing scene where doubting Thomas, not only seeing but handling the Word of life, cries out "My Lord and my God," it is this theme of "God *in* Christ" which the fourth evangelist sets before him. His desire is that of Jesus in the Highpriestly Prayer, "That the Father may be glorified in the Son."

Among all the startling contrasts which the fourth Gospel presents to its predecessors there is perhaps none greater than its emancipation from the sinister inheritance of late-Jewish apocalypse. Even in Paul that emancipation is but half-accomplished. The

Thessalonian Epistles are still replete with the expectation of "judgment and fiery indignation to devour the adversaries." On the immediate horizon of these earliest writings of the New Testament the clouds are red with the impending "manifestation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of his power in flaming fire, rendering vengeance to them that know not God, and to them that obey not the gospel." * Only in Paul's later Epistles, above all in his swan-song to the beloved Philippian church, does the lurid picture give way to a gentler theme, the doctrine, characteristic with Paul, of mystic union with Christ. Even now it is "Christ for him to live"; at the end it will be "gain to die." While he still believed he should "be alive and remain till the Coming of the Lord" Paul had held that his real life was "hid with Christ in God." In his last hours his hope was only "to depart and be with Christ." [12]

Our fourth evangelist has moved still further away from the vengeful Jewish doctrines of rage and despair against a bitterly oppressive world. The wrath of God still hangs over it, but Christ comes not to judgment but to save. "He that believeth on him is not judged: he that believeth not hath been judged

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* II Thess. 1:7 f.

already. And this is the judgment, that the light is come into the world and men loved darkness rather than light because their deeds were evil." If this from the Dialogue with Nicodemus be a departure from Synoptic teaching, what say you to the farewell discourses of the upper room, which in this Gospel take the place of the denunciations, woes and pictures of judgment-to-come of Synoptic story? Jesus' farewell to those whom he had loved to the end sets before them a mystical indwelling of the Father and the Son in the heart of the believer. This is the true goal. This is the real "eternal life." No wonder Judas exclaims, "Lord, what is come to pass that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us and not unto the world?" The departing Master does not take from them their hope of many mansions in the Father's house. A place will be prepared for them; if it were not so, he would have told them. Enough that they will be where he is. But that is not the true eternal life. "If a man love me he will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." This is the key to eternal life, the life whose peace is unshakable and unending: "Peace I leave with you: my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."* Such is Jn.'s interpretation of the life which is the light of men.

ENVOI

Gentlemen of Yale Divinity School, I have been given the great privilege of offering you a second farewell. This is the end of my official teaching at Yale, but only the beginning of successive years of exposition of the Life of Christ. You are going forth with your gospel to a world struggling to make all things new. The story of Jesus will be your gospel. How will you present it? One of the great Christian teachers of our time, lately departed, has defined the Christological problem of today as

> the question whether the early Church's religion of Christ and redemption is a result which arose out of the impression made by Jesus himself and which is inwardly continuous with his Person; or whether this faith in a Savior, with its focussing of redemption in the sacrificial death of a Savior-god, is merely the grafting of non-Christian mystery cults upon the more or less irrelevant surviving memory of a Jewish rabbi.

Those who bring to you their interpretation of the Life of Christ will treat it in various aspects. Some will dwell on What the Eye Saw, some on What the Ear Heard. If you would answer aright the problem so discriminatingly put by Troeltsch I charge you not to pass over What Entered into the Heart of Man to Conceive of the divine purpose implied. What the fourth evangelist would answer to the charge of perversion of the simple gospel of Christ you may read in his fiery polemic against the syncretistic pantheism which threatened at Ephesus to engulf the historic word of the cross. The Epistles of Jn., as we call them, tell what this successor of Paul thinks of the "grafting of non-Christian mystery cults upon the more or less irrelevant surviving memory of a Jewish rabbi." Learn of him. Learn to add to the biography concerned only with the days of the Master's flesh the abiding witness to "the life, the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested in the Son of God." [13]

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*Jn. 14:1-4, 23, 27.

CRITICAL NOTES

As intimated on p. 11 even a bibliography of Lives of Christ would occupy more space than can here be allowed. I must content myself with the general outline and classification of the material given in Lecture I. On the other hand it will not be unreasonable to subjoin a few critical notes to enable the reader to form an independent judgment on debatable points which for brevity's sake were assumed without discussion in the Lectures. Accordingly the subjoined Notes are limited to these points. They offer in the first place references to writings of my own where reasons are given for the conclusions reached. To these are added some of the more important works taking a different or opposing view.

LECTURE I

Note 1, p. 11. Down to the period of Eusebius (325 A.D.) Christian writers commonly speak of the ministry of Jesus as having covered but a single year, finding prophetic determination of the period in the expression of Is. 61:2 "the acceptable year of the Lord." Even the felt need of harmonizing the Gospels and the occasional indications of the Synoptic evangelists themselves that more than one Passover season must be allowed for (cf. Mk. 2:23 f.) did not prevail against a practice which had obtained firm root in the primitive observance of the ecclesiastical year. The church chronographers, whose work is traceable as early as 144 A.D., make their point of departure the Passion Passover, which could be more readily calculated than any other date because of unbroken Jewish and primitive Christian observance and the great importance attached by Jewish chronographers to its exact determination. The date fixed upon throughout the Greek-speaking Church from about 150 A.D. was, as Turner has shown in his able article "Chronology of the New Testament" in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary,* the so-called "year of the two Gemini," that is of the consulship of Lucius Rubellius Geminus and Caius Fufius Geminus, being 29 A.D. of the era of Dionysius, later adopted as the "Christian." Only in the Syriac-speaking branch of the Church, very ancient of origin and perpetuating a tradition more careful as to dates than others, was the date 30 A.D. adopted as that of the crucifixion. This chronology, advocated in my articles "A Criticism of the New Chronology of Paul," etc. in *The Expositor* for 1898, 1899 and 1900 (VII and X, fifth Series and II, sixth Series), has since won wide acceptance. It justifies the references (pp. 4 and 33) to the current year as the "nineteen hundredth anniversary" of the Passion.

The ancient chronographers reckoned backward from the crucifixion Passover, resting upon Lk. 3:23 for their date of the Nativity. But it is shown in my article "Lukan vs. Johannine Chronology" in *The Expositor* for March, 1907 (III, seventh Series), that this dating conflicts with a more widely diffused tradition of earlier date. It probably rests ultimately on a mere inference from Ez. 1:1. The real age of Jesus at the beginning of his ministry is more correctly reflected in Mt. 2:7, 15 f.; Lk. 1:5 ff.; Acts 7:23; Jn. 2:20 f.; 8:57 and the "tradition of the elders" quoted by Irenæus (*Haer.* II, xxii, 5). This conclusion is borne out by archæological data adduced by Sir W. M. Ramsay, *Was Christ Born in Bethlehem?* (1898), and other authorities. As regards the two-year ministry assumed in the fourth Gospel see my *Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate* (1910), pp. 389 ff. and below, Lecture IV, Note 8.

Note 2, p. 20. The slogan *Maran atha* ("Our Lord Cometh") appended *in Aramaic* to a Greek letter (I Cor. 16:22) could only be common to both branches. Rom. 10:9 and I Cor. 12:3 indicate that the common essential article of baptismal confession was acknowledgment of Jesus as glorified "Lord." The title would be differently interpreted according as Jewish or Hellenistic conceptions prevailed. See *Kyrios Christos,* by Bousset, 1903, J. E. Carpenter, *Phases of Early Christianity* (1916), pp. 62-67, and *Kyrios Jesus,* by Lohmeyer, 1928.

Note 3, p. 24. For a judicious valuation of the extent to which allowance should be made for the influence of apocalyptic ideas in the New Testament see E. von Dobschütz, *Eschatology of the Gospels,* (1910). We may add for a comparison of apocalyptic with Christian ethics *The Lord of Thought,* by Lily Dougall and C. W. Emmet (1922), and for Jesus' use of these conceptions, Tyrrell, *Christianity at the Crossroads,* 1909, chs. x, xii. See also two articles by G. H. Box, "Jewish Apocalypse in the Apostolic Age," in *The Expositor* for 1922 (VIII, No. 140).

Note 4, p. 27. For evidences of agglutination of the Gospel narratives around Baptism and the Supper as nuclei see my article, "Reflections of Ritual in Paul," in *The Harvard Theological Review*, VIII, 4 (Oct., 1915), pp. 504 ff.

LECTURE II

Note 1, p. 37. So Papias (c. 140 A.D.). The statement made by Papias about the Gospel of Mk. rests on the tradition he had obtained from "the Elder," probably John of Jerusalem (*ob.* 117). It seems to be based upon inspection of the work, but not without knowledge of the character of apostolic preaching and reliable traditions of the relation between Peter and Mark.

Note 2, p. 41. For the form of *midrash*, or poetic symbolism, habitually applied in the preaching of the Synagogue and exemplified in the Gospel narratives of Jesus' Baptism and Temptation and his Transfiguration, see my contribution to *Religion and the Future Life*, by E. H. Sneath (1922), pp. 264-283.

Note 3, p. 46. In my article entitled "New and Old in Jesus' Relation to John" in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1929 (XLVIII, 1-2), pp. 40-81, I have endeavored to give account of this admittedly great influence. An excellent survey of the Baptist's work may be found by English readers in Blakiston's *John Baptist and His Relation to Jesus* (1912).

Note 4, p. 48. The designation "People of the Book" was coined in the early legislation of Islam. It well describes the trend given to Israel's development in the period of "the Great Synagogue" under leadership of scribes and Pharisees, and still more in the reconstruction of "normal" Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem. Over against the masterly description of *Judaism* by Geo. F. Moore (1927) should be set the qualifying criticism of F. C. Porter, "Judaism in New Testament Times" in *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (Jan., 1928).

Note 5, p. 48. This identification is now well established. Views of the ruined second-century synagogue probably occupying the site of that where Mk. locates "the beginning of the gospel of Jesus the Christ," and now in process of archæological reconstruction, may be seen in Kohl and Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilæa* (1916).

Note 6, p. 58. As in the books of the prophets a vision-story describing the divine communication of the message prefaces the prophet's utterance, so in the Gospel narrative each part is prefaced by a vision-story in which the voice of God communicates the message.

The Call of Jesus is described in the baptismal vision of the descent of the Spirit of Adoption, followed by the Temptation which defines the sense in which the title Son of God is to be understood. The Call of the Witnesses is described in the vision of the Transfiguration, showing Jesus in the conditions of his glorification. Here again the voice of God proclaims him the Son to whom homage is due. Silence is imposed on the witnesses, as in other apocalypses, until the time when as apostles of the Son of Man they are to proclaim it abroad. For the symbolism of *midrash,* as this method of religious teaching by vision and voice from Heaven is called in Jewish literature, the reader should consult the *Jewish Encyclopædia,* s.v., and the authorities referred to in Note 2 above. For the imposition of silence see J. V. Stanton, "Pseudonymity," in *Journal of Theological Studies,* ii, 19.

Note 7, p. 60. See above, Note 3. In the article referred to special stress is laid on the effect of the Baptist's martyr fate upon Jesus in determining his course after the period of exile.

Note 8, p. 64. Many are the attempted explanations of the truncated condition in which the Gospel of Mk. has been transmitted. Most of these surrender their task by appealing to "accident." In my three volumes on this Gospel, *Beginnings of Gospel Story* (1909), *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?* (1919), and *The Gospel of Mark* (1925), I have endeavored to explain "Why Mark is Incomplete." The sequel as we have it in Luke's double work tells indeed the story of Peter's "turning again." But this is secondary, a substitute for the earlier Mk. Proleptic allusions in Mk. 1:8; 13:9-13; 14:9, 27f. show that this evangelist's perspective included originally the Rallying in Galilee after the Resurrection, Pentecost and the Apostles' witness to the Gentile world. Peter's witness cannot have fallen short of this, nor could the Church be satisfied with less. What took form toward the end of the first century as a Gospel, included only that part of the preaching of Peter which reported the Sayings and Doings of the Lord. Originally this Roman Gospel had been followed by Acts of Peter telling of how Peter received a vision of the risen Lord, turned again and stablished his brethren (Lk. 22:32). In a form adapted to the ideas of the Jerusalem brotherhood these Acts of Peter were embodied by Luke in Acts 1-15, but once rejected from canonical use in favor of Lk.-Acts they left only the uncanonical Pseudo-Petrine compositions of this name and type as their surviving representatives. To take the place of this primitive Petrine tradition the Gospel of Mk. was completed by the story of the Empty Sepulchre and Appearance to the Women with its Galilean sequel, a story which attaches after the proper close of Mk.'s Passion story at 15:39. Only so much of this sequel to the Passion story as could be reconciled with

Lk.-Acts, that is, Mk. 15: 40–16: 8, was retained after Lk. and Mt. came into circulation, the conflict with Lk. being intolerable. Hence the ancient copies of Mk. either leave a blank space after 16: 8 long enough to allow for one or both of the so-called Spurious Endings, or else append the briefly summarized Shorter Ending based on Mt., or the Longer Ending (Mk. 16: 9-20) mainly based on Lk., or both. Of course even the story of the Empty Tomb is a post-apostolic development, completely unknown to the apostolic resurrection gospel as stated by Paul (I Cor. 15: 1-11). The story of the risen Christ as related in apostolic times began with the appearance to Peter in Galilee (I Cor. 15:5); but that was no longer part of the Passion story, which ended as in Mk. 15: 39. It belonged to the Acts of the Apostles. We should therefore regard the Empty Tomb story as the first of a series of additions made to Synoptic tradition after Lk. had led the way of dividing the traditional witness of Peter into two parts (1) "the things which Jesus began to do and to teach," (2) the witness borne by his apostles under direction of the Spirit. For the most authentic form of the apostolic resurrection gospel we must fall back on I Cor. 15: 1-11. Details of this attempt to explain the truncated condition of Mk. will be found in the works above cited, more especially the chapter entitled "Why Mark Is Incomplete" in *The Gospel of Mark.* See also my *Founding of the Church* (1909) and cf. S. V. McCasland's article "Peter's Vision of the Risen Christ" in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XLVII, 1-2 (1928).

LECTURE III

Note 1, p. 67, note. In Moffatt's *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (1911), pp. 194-206, the reader will find a full account of the many attempts at reconstruction of the Teaching Source, designated "Second" as being supplementary to Mk. The second of Harnack's *New Testament Studies*, published in English translation under the title *Sayings of Jesus; the Second Synoptic Source* (1908), gives the fullest and most authoritative discussion of the characteristics of the material independently employed by Mt. and Lk. to supplement Mk.'s lack of teaching material. Harnack goes furthest in the direction of denying to this "double-tradition" material (Q) the character of a gospel, pronouncing it a mere loose agglomeration of disconnected sayings. Von Soden rightly says "Q is not a source but a stratum." My grounds for dissenting from the prevailing view will be found in *Studies in Matthew.* They are most concisely stated in the Preface, pp. vi-xiii. In Lecture III it is assumed that the Second Source was in form a gospel, though not of apostolic authorship and chiefly occupied with teaching material. I have used no passages, however, outside of the Q sections, so that inferences drawn in the Lecture rest upon such material only as is admitted by all to form part of the Source.

Note 2, p. 69. See my *Gospel of Mark*, p. 333.

Note 3, p. 70. Reasons are given in *Beginnings of Gospel Story*, p. 175, for questioning the attachment in Mk. 12: 35-37 of an additional proof-text for the "Lordship" of Jesus after the three debates in the temple with Pharisee, Sadducee, and scribe have been brought to a close in the colophon, "And no man after that durst ask him any question." The messianic Psalm passage adduced in the supplement attached by Mk. would naturally become a center of debate after Christians had begun to declare the taking up of their Master to "the right hand of God" and their opponents to deny it (cf. Acts 2: 34-36), but as a public challenge of Jesus *before* his arrest it is improbable. The motive of Mk. in making the attachment is brought into clear light by Rom. 1: 3 f.

Note 4, p. 72. See Andrew Lang, *The Maid of France* (1908). The endearing expression was not merely applied by Jeanne's followers. Her "voices" employed it. "Va, va, va, fille Dé," was their answer of encouragement when she showed hesitation to undertake a difficult task.

Note 5, p. 73. My own conception of the Christology of the Second Source (Q) as a "Wisdom" Christology will be found most fully expressed in *Studies in Matthew* (1930), pp. 203 ff. The article there referred to in *The Harvard Theological Review* for October, 1916, should be compared with the monograph of J. Rendel Harris entitled *Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel* (1917). See also my article "The Plaint of Wisdom in Mt. 23: 34-39" in *The Expositor* for December, 1915 (x, 60, Series 8).

Note 6, p. 76. The expression is taken from Irenæus' account (*Haer.* I, xxvi, 1) of the teaching of Cerinthus, the Jewish Adoptionist and reputed opponent of the Apostle John. Cerinthus maintained that "after Jesus' baptism Christ descended upon him in the form of a dove from the Supreme Ruler, and that thereafter he proclaimed the unknown Father and performed miracles."

Note 7, p. 77. The divine purpose in sending the Son to be the Redeemer of humanity is thus expressed in Rom. 8: 29; cf. Gal. 4: 4-6. The Pauline doctrine of sonship by incarnation of the redeeming Spirit of the divine Wisdom first in Jesus, ultimately in all the elect, is best expressed in Philip. 2: 5-11, even if (as Lohmeyer has made probable) these verses are largely taken from some (pre-Christian?) hymn of redeeming Wisdom. See the judicious review of W. K. Lowther-Clarke in *New Testament Problems* (1929), pp. 141-150.

Note 8, p. 84. The authenticity of the Lord's Prayer, especially in the briefer, Lukan form, needs no defence. It gives all the more indisputable evidence as to the personal religion of Jesus (on this see Bundy, *The Religion of Jesus*, 1929) from the fact that Mk., who does not give the Prayer, gives in 12:28-34 Jesus' summary of essential religion. The summary, like the Prayer, falls into two parts, the former Godward-looking, the second manward. In the former everything is concentrated on the unreserved devotion expressed in the *Shem'a*. All human capacity and interest must be concentrated on the divine purpose. So in the Prayer. The petitions of the first part concern the Kingdom of God and the "sanctification" of His Name, a phrase applied in Jewish teaching to the motive of the martyrs. The petitions of the second part are consistently limited to such help as the "son," actuated by such a motive, may properly seek from the Father.

Note 9, p. 89. On the Exile Section of the Synoptic Gospels (Mk. 6:45–8:26 and parallels) see my *Gospel of Mark* (1925), pp. 162-164, and *Studies in Mt.* (1930), pp. 218-230. Accidental disappearance of this section from the copy of Mk. used by Luke (Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (1925), pp. 172-179), is a counsel of despair which the presence of the section in Mt., the implied knowledge of it in occasional Lukan references, and the distinctively Markan style and language combine to make untenable. Intentional omission of the section as a whole by Luke is best accounted for by consideration of its structure and pragmatic motive. Its material is largely duplicate and the disposition of it indicates an intention on Mk.'s part to justify the carrying of the gospel to the Gentiles by the example of Jesus, whose saying on Inward Purity is declared to have abolished the Mosaic distinctions of "clean and unclean." Lk. covers this ground much more fully (and on the witness of Paul much more historically) in Acts. The logion appears in correct application in Mt. 23:25 f.=Lk. 11:39-41.

Note 10, p. 92. The question why Mk. is so lacking in the type of teaching material collected in Q is given the answer of my text in accordance with the results of such study as I have been able to give to the problem of the Second, or Teaching Source, results largely embodied in *Studies in Matthew* (1930). Over against these should be set the conclusions of Harnack (*Sayings*, 1908), and the discussions of Streeter, Hawkins, and Vernon-Bartlet, edited by Sanday in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (1911). Streeter's views are more recently and fully set forth in his *Four Gospels* (1925).

Note 11, p. 95. The sequence of source-material in Mk. 4-8 is set forth in my *Beginnings of Gospel Story*. In this fundamental sequence digressions intervene introduced to meet special requirements of the evangelist's time, such as the Exile Section (6:56–8:22) already mentioned (Note 9). The two paragraphs on Jesus' Reception in Nazareth and Mission of the Twelve (Mk. 6:1-13), which interrupt and obscure the connection of the Faith Wonders (4:35–5:43) with Herod's Comment, display this character of "improvements" attached by the evangelist. These removed, together with the Exile Section, the sequence of events becomes strikingly realistic. The miracles of healing provoke Herod's hostile attention. Jesus in consequence withdraws to the lake shore, where assembled multitudes induce a moving leave-taking (assimilated in the tradition to the Farewell Supper in Jerusalem). After this Jesus makes his escape by boat into the domain of Philip.

Note 12, p. 97. The Isaian passage (Is. 49:24 f.) supplies the key to the important group of Q logia in Mt. 12:22-45 = Lk. 11:14-32, a sequel to the Rebuke of the Adulterous Generation which has turned a deaf ear to both the messengers of God (Mt. 11:2-27 = Lk. 7:18-35; 10:13-15, 21 f.). The contrast is very marked between the Christology implied in this report of Jesus' own utterances and the abridged narrative of Mk., whose point of view, described above, is made apparent by his significant omissions and changes. Cf. *Studies in Matthew*, pp. 202-213.

Note 13, p. 99. The limitation of the Q material to the ministry in Galilee is one of the chief data in the discussion of the nature of the Second Source. Mk. and his satellite Mt. give *two* accounts of the Miracle of the Loaves. One of these might well be from the Second Source, but would not appear in Q because (by definition) Q includes only material appearing coincidently in Mt. and Lk. *not given by Mk.* For discussion of the nature and extent of Mk.'s dependence on the Second Source see my *Studies in Matthew* and compare Sanday, *Oxford Studies*, pp. 166-183.

Note 14, p. 101. On the Special Source of Lk. designated S by Vernon-Bartlet (but more usually L) see *Oxford Studies*, pp. 315-363. Fuller development of the theory has been given by Streeter (*Four Gospels*), Vincent Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel* (1926), and in B. S. Easton's excellent *Commentary on Luke* (1926). My own judgment is expressed briefly in *Studies in Matthew*, pp. 105-119.

Note 15, p. 102. On reasons for regarding the Passion story of Lk. as reflecting the Second Source in combination with Mk. see *Studies in Matthew* as cited in Note 14. Lk. 22:28-30 = Mt. 19:28 is revealed as in its kernel a Supper logion by the language—literally, "I *covenant* unto you as my Father hath *covenanted* unto me."—An excellent discussion of the L material of Lk. will be found in A. M. Perry, *The Sources of Luke's Passion Story* (1920). See also my article "The Lukan Tradition of the Lord's Supper" in *The Harvard Theological Review* for July, 1912 (V, 3).

CRITICAL NOTES

LECTURE IV

Note 1, p. 109. On the Appearance to Peter see above, Note 8 on Lecture I, with literature cited.

Note 2, p. 118. Reasons for regarding Jn. 2:12–3:21 together with the summary 3:31-36 as superimposed by the hand of a Paulinist editor of the Ephesian church are given in my article "Pauline Elements in the Fourth Gospel" in *The Anglican Theological Review* for January, 1929 (XI, 3). See also Bernard-McNeile, *International Critical Commentary*, 1929, pp. xxiii f.

Note 3, p. 120. Displacements in the fourth Gospel are not a matter of recent discovery but (as stated in my text) led to attempted corrections as early as Tatian (c. 170 A.D.) and in the Reformation period, besides the modern. In my *Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate* (1909) they are accounted for as due to editorial revision of transmitted Discourses ascribed in the Appendix (Jn. 21:24) to the Beloved Disciple, cautiously identified with John, son of Zebedee. Other critics, notably Spitta, have attempted to account for them by accidental shifting of papyrus leaves in the original codex. More recent theories of accidental displacement are exemplified by F. Warburton Lewis, *Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel* (1922). For critical discussion of the Johannine problem in all its phases see J. Estlin Carpenter, *The Johannine Writings* (1927), and for rearrangements in particular, Bernard McNeile as in Note 2.

Note 4, p. 122. The approach to the problem of authorship of the Johannine writings should be through those passages which employ the first person, singular or plural. In the *Revelation*, as in practically all apocalypses, the "I" is pseudepigraphic. In the Epistles "I" is simple and undisguised. "We," as Harnack has shown in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for 1923 (XVII-XX, pp. 96 ff.) stands for the corporate body of genuine witnesses. Here, then, the author appears in his own colors and contemporary situation. In the Gospel "I" and "we" appear in the Appendix (21:24 f.) but are clearly distinguished from a "witness" no longer living but once a member of the corporate body, which of course persists. The "we" certify to his truthfulness as a witness, and the speaker "I," who edits the book (21:25) identifies him with the mysterious "disciple whom Jesus loved," who figures in it. This editor (R) cautiously hints further identification of the Witness with the Apostle John. This is far from probable; but the author of the (unedited) Gospel is no doubt the same as "the Elder" (*not* named "John") who writes the Epistles. The world of error and unchristlike living against which the Elder contends so ardently in the Epistles is that for and against which the truth embodied in the Gospel is proclaimed. On this question see especially G. H. C. Macgregor, three articles in *The Expositor* for 1922-1923 and *Commentary* in the Moffatt series, 1929.

Note 5, p. 123. The theory of intentional fiction was maintained by James Drummond, devout and scholarly author of *Philo Judæus,* in his important volume in defence of the tradition of Johannine authorship, *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* (1904).

Note 6, p. 124. Recognition, now widely prevalent, of the fact that the Gospels were not composed for historical but for religious purposes, and that those who gave this material its present form availed themselves to the full of the Synagogue rule, "all things unto edification," should not obscure the converse truth that keen criticism of a certain rudimentary kind lay in wait for any demonstrable misstatement of fact. Our fourth evangelist avails himself more largely than the rest of the liberty of haggadic preaching, but it should also be observed that he is violently opposed to those whom he and his contemporaries denounce as "vain talkers" addicted to "old wives' fables" and vaporizing away the historic truth of the Church's tradition by theosophic theories of incarnation and theophany. Whatever of "mythology" has crept into the tradition current at Ephesus by 100 A.D. appears in the fourth Gospel not by the evangelist's intention but in spite of it. The type of Hellenistic mysticism which permeated the atmosphere and affects the style and phraseology of Jn. is most clearly revealed in the revised edition (1929) of W. Bauer's *Commentary* (Lietzmann Series). With this compare the article of Vincent Taylor in *The Hibbert Journal* for April, 1930 (XXVIII, 3), "The Mandæans and the Fourth Gospel."

Note 7, p. 125. The accumulated inertia of eighteen centuries of unquestioning tradition presents a formidable obstacle to the group of scholars who are engaged in the effort to interpret the anonymous Epistles and Gospel ascribed to "John" in the light of their own statements and implications. Even Sanday, who ultimately acknowledged his error (*Divine Overruling,* 1920, p. 61), spoke in his *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* (1905) of those who maintained the Johannine authorship as "defenders" not of the tradition but of "the Gospel." Recent commentators such as Macgregor (*The Moffatt Commentary,* 1929) approach the question of authorship and character untrammeled by this preconception.

Note 8, p. 126. On the chronology, see above, Lecture I, Note 1. Apart from Jn. 2: 13-22 which forms part of the editorial supplement referred to above (Lecture IV, Note 2) the fourth Gospel implies no other duration of the public ministry than we have seen to underlie Synoptic story and the ancient tradition; that is, a period of one year after the Galilean Passover. The *third* Passover prefixed in Jn. 2: 13 ff. fills out the festal scheme of the Hellenistic evangelist and adjusts his conception of the chronology to the Synoptic. As against Lk. 3:23 there is real improvement, and the Samaritan ministry of Jn. 3:22–4:45 "before John was cast into prison" is thus brought within the limits of the Synoptic scheme; but at the cost of serious trouble to the harmonists from Irenæus down. See my *Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate,* 1910, pp. 389-411.

Note 9, p. 128. Attention was called by Hugo Grotius (*Op. Theol.* II, Vol. I, p. 473) to the peculiar stress laid by the fourth evangelist on a proper valuation of the ministry of John with respect to Jesus. In 1898 this peculiarity was recalled from the neglect of critics by W. Baldensperger, who made it the basis of his contention (*Der Prolog des Vierten Evangeliums,* 1898) for an Ephesian provenance, the evangelist having a special interest to refute the exaggerated claims of the sect of baptizers at Ephesus (Acts 19:1-7), not all of whom were absorbed by the church of Pauline foundation. These Johannine baptizers are known to some of the second-century fathers as Hemerobaptists from their use of daily ablutions. In the *Clementina* (*Recogn.* I, lx) they are described as maintaining that "John was the Christ and not Jesus." The special interest of our fourth evangelist in the "disciples of John" is now generally recognized. In the Lecture it is used to account not for the Prologue only but for the prefixed Samaritan ministry (Jn. 3:22–4:45), which treats at greater length the comparison of Jesus and John made by the Second Source (Mt. 11:2 ff. = Lk. 7:24 ff.). The motive of the fourth evangelist, however, is wider than Baldensperger realizes. Jn. aims to sever the tap-root of *Samaritan Gnosticism* by showing the alleged dependence of these sects on John the Baptist to misrepresent "the witness of John." On the Gnostic baptizing sects see Reitzenstein, *Die Vorchristliche Taufe* (1929), judiciously reviewed with additional data by Lucien Cerfaux, "Le baptême des Esséniens," in *Recherches de Science Religieuse,* XIX, 3-4 (1929). The Mandæan writings (now accessible through the translation of Lidzbarski) unquestionably represent a Gnostic survival of this type. The contemporaries of the fourth evangelist were Menander of Capparatea and El-Chasai of Transjordan. Connection with Essene baptism is more readily demonstrable than the alleged dependence on John the Baptist. This, however, was certainly believed in 100 A.D. (Acts 8:14-24).

Note 10, p. 129. Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Johannis,* 1908, an enlargement of *Erweiterungen und Aenderungen im vierten Evangelium* (1907) illustrates in conjunction with E. Schwartz's articles in the *Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft,* the application of methods of source criticism to the fourth Gospel. Wellhausen at least was keenly alive to the necessity of distinguishing between supplements which may be ascribed to revision by the author himself and incorporations of alien material. See his *Ev. Joh.*, p. 4, quoted by V. H. Stanton, *Gospels as Historical Documents*, Pt. III, p. 37 and Macgregor, *The Expositor* for August, 1922, pp. 105 ff.

Note 11, p. 131. Leading critics now regard Paul's letter of commendation of "Phœbe our sister" (Rom. 16: 1-23) as addressed to the church in *Ephesus*. If so the Christians saluted in verses 5-7 may well include some of the group referred to in Acts 19: 1-7. In fact it is difficult to imagine where else Paul could experience the contacts implied in Rom. 16: 7. In the Leucian *Acts of John* (ca. 170 A.D.) Andronicus appears as patron of the church *in Ephesus*. Such Jewish evangelists "of note among the apostles" and "in Christ" before the conversion of Paul imply missionary activity in Ephesus at a very early date, to which should perhaps be ascribed the foundation of the churches in the Lycus Valley, and not, as is usually assumed, during Paul's residence "in Asia."

Note 12, p. 136. To the *Religionsgeschichtlich* school of New Testament research we owe an immense debt, of which the writings above referred to as throwing light especially upon the fourth Gospel are typical examples. The bibliography of the subject is too extensive for our present limits but will be found in H. Odeberg's *The Fourth Gospel*, 1929. On the New Testament generally see Clemen's *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, 1924. A recent addition to the subject is Angus' *Religious Quests of the Græco-Roman World*, 1929.

Note 13, p. 139. The basic motive of Lecture IV will be found more fully expressed in my *Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, 1910, pp. 533-536. It is a satisfaction after twenty years to be able to refer to the standard English commentary (Bernard-McNeile) for the chief critical points in debate.

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